

The Archaeology of
Jerusalem
From the Origins to the Ottomans

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9 ♦ The Early Islamic Period

Among provincial towns none is larger than Jerusalem, and many capitals are in fact smaller . . . The buildings of the Holy City are of stone, and you will find nowhere finer or more solid constructions . . . Provisions are most excellent here, the markets are clean, the mosque is of the largest, and nowhere are Holy Places more numerous . . . In Jerusalem are all manner of learned men and doctors, and for this reason the hearts of men of intelligence yearn towards her. All the year round, never are her streets empty of strangers.

AL-MUQADDASI, *Description of Syria*, 165–67

Muslim al-Quds

Caliph Umar I conquered Jerusalem (al-Quds, in Arabic) around A.H. 16–17/637–638 C.E. without causing havoc or imposing destruction.¹ Within a few years he succeeded in defeating the two exhausted

superpowers, Persia and the Byzantine Empire.² Umar I intentionally avoided incurring damage on Jerusalem because of its special role for adherents of the new religion of Islam. The site of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem was also Muhammad's destination during his legendary night journey from Mecca on his steed al-Burak, and it is the site from which the Prophet ascended the seven heavens into the presence of the Almighty. Umar I built a mosque on top of the Temple Mount platform, which the Arabs renamed at first al-Jami al-Aqsa and after the Crusader period the Haram al-Sharif (the Noble Sanctuary) (fig. 9.1).³

Jerusalem became increasingly important after the Umayyad caliphs came to power around A.H. 40/660 C.E., although it never assumed the role of capital during this phase of the city's history.⁴

The first Islamic architectural masterpiece on the Haram, the Dome of the Rock — Qubbat al-Sakhra — was built by a later caliph of the Umayyad Dynasty, Abd al-Malik (A.H. 65–86/685–705 C.E.), who employed Byzantine architects and craftsmen in the region. His reasons for this architectural undertaking were of a political, economic, and religious nature. A rival caliph challenged his authority over Mecca; as the birthplace of Muhammad, this city attracted large revenues from pilgrims, many of whom came from Abd al-Malik's dominions. A shrine in Jerusalem would enhance the political importance of the city and also serve as an alternative to pilgrimage to Mecca. Moreover, the presence of so many handsome local churches motivated the caliph to surpass the glory of Christian spaces. The Dome of the Rock was an admirable instrument for this purpose.⁵

The nearby Aqsa Mosque was the work of Abd al-Malik's son, Caliph Walid I (A.H. 86–96/705–715 C.E.); nothing remains of the original structure, except parts of the southern wall and the orientation of the building. After the Abbasid Dynasty acceded to the throne, the capital of the Arab empire was transferred to Baghdad in A.H. 145/762 C.E. Conditions in Palestine now took a turn for the worse, with Jerusalem being the first to suffer.



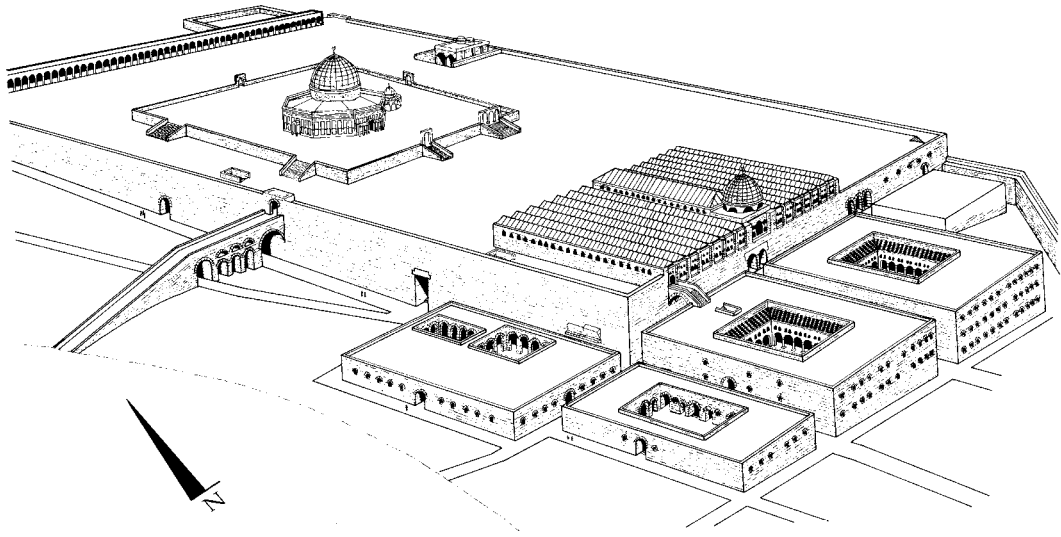
Fig. 9.1. Aerial view of the Haram al-Sharif taken in the 1940s, looking north. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

Conversions to Islam under the Umayyad and succeeding Abbasid dynasties increased, although Christians and Jews were allowed to reside in the city and control their own communal affairs. Soon after the Arab conquest, the Gaonim, who constituted the supreme Jewish religious authority in the Holy Land, moved their seat from Tiberias to Jerusalem, where it remained until the eleventh century c.e. Monks and pilgrims encountered little interference from the Muslim administration. The problems of the Jerusalem Christian community were largely internal, caused by the widening breach between the Eastern (Orthodox) and Western (Latin) churches. With Jerusalem now under Arab dominion, it was severed from the premier Latin patriarchate of Rome and the principal eastern patriarchate of Constantinople.

In the ensuing century, under Fatimid rule, Jerusalem was to experience both a high and a low point.⁶ This new dynasty (claiming descent from Fatima, daughter of Muhammad) conquered Egypt in A.H. 359/969 C.E. and established the new capital in Cairo. A few years later, under Caliph al-Aziz (A.H. 365–386/976–996 C.E.), Fatimid rule was extended to Palestine and Syria. During the reign of al-Aziz, Christians and Jews in Jerusalem enjoyed considerable freedom. Under his successor, al-Hakim (A.H. 386–411/996–1021 C.E.) — known as “the mad caliph” — Jerusalem suffered havoc.⁷ The Martyrium Basilica was destroyed in A.H. 400/1009 C.E., along with four other churches located in other parts of the empire.⁸ Shortly after, al-Hakim authorized the reconstruction of the destroyed houses of worship and pilgrimages were resumed. The dome of the Anastasis Rotunda underwent repairs; the Martyrium Basilica, however, was never rebuilt.⁹ The next fifty years were comparatively uneventful — barring three earthquakes, one of which gravely damaged the Dome of the Rock (A.H. 425/1033 C.E.).¹⁰

The Seljuks, an outlying branch of the Turks, converted to Islam at the end of the tenth century while serving as mercenaries for the Muslim rulers of Persia and northwest India. Like their earlier counterparts, they soon overthrew their overlords, and in A.H. 447/1055 C.E. established their capital in Baghdad. In A.H. 464/1071 C.E., they overran most of Syria and Palestine, and held Jerusalem for the next twenty-five years.

The Seljuks pillaged Jerusalem and reestablished a policy of persecuting Christians and Jews. Their maltreatment of Christians, stopping of pilgrimage, and abuse of those pilgrims who succeeded in arriving in Jerusalem gave additional prompting to the counteroffensive of the Christian world — the First Crusade. Shortly before this happened, the Fatimids reestablished their authority in Jerusalem — but the fervent armies coming from Europe were already on their way.



The Haram al-Sharif—the Noble Sanctuary

Since the destruction of the Jewish Temple in 70 c.e., the entire area of the former Temple Mount remained in ruins—with the exception of two columns supporting the statues of Jupiter and Emperor Hadrian.¹¹ In the Late Roman and Byzantine periods, the Temple Mount was mainly used as a stone quarry. When Caliph Umar I and his forces entered the city around A.H. 16–17/637–38 c.e., no immediate changes were introduced. Several years later, after the establishment of the Umayyad Dynasty and the nomination of Mu'awiya as caliph (A.H. 40/660–61 c.e.), the Muslim population initiated work on their own house of worship (fig. 9.2).¹² The increasing tension vis-à-vis the Christian population encouraged them to erect a monument that could compete with the existing Church of the Holy Sepulchre.¹³

The damaged sections of the enclosure wall needed to be repaired and reconstructed, and renovations were carried out in the tunnels leading up from the Huldah Gates toward the top of the platform. The platform could be accessed via two entrances in the

Fig. 9.2. Reconstruction of the Haram al-Sharif in the Umayyad period. Redrawn by J. Dillon, after: Bahat, *Illustrated Atlas*, 82–83.



Fig. 9.3. The Golden Gate. Photo R. Schick.

southern wall, four in the western wall, two in the northern wall, and one in the eastern wall. The newly built Golden Gate or Gate of Mercy was most likely built in place of an earlier entrance (fig. 9.3). The internal and external architectural decoration, which is similar to ornamentation added on top of the Herodian Huldah Gate, confirms the Umayyad date of construction (figs. 9.4–5).

Religious Architecture

Around 680 c.e., on the pilgrimage of Bishop Arculf to Jerusalem, Adomnan described a rudimentary place of worship located somewhere at the southern end of the platform:



Fig. 9.4. Detailed architrave and cornice of the southwestern corner of the Golden Gate. Photo H. Bloedhorn.



Fig. 9.5. An Umayyad decorative addition to the western Huldah Gate. Photo H. Bloedhorn.

Moreover near the [city-]wall on the east, in that famous place where once stood the magnificent Temple, the Saracens have now built an oblong house of prayer which they pieced together with upright planks and large beams over some ruined remains. This they attend, and it is said that this building can hold three thousand people.¹⁴ (Adomnan, 226–227)

At this point, the sanctuary in the center had not yet been built.¹⁵ Exactly when and for what reason the rock began to be venerated is not clear. The contemporary sources do not offer an explanation; there is no mention of the legend of the Prophet's night journey, the sacrifice of Isaac, the tradition of the omphalos of the world, or the gate to Paradise accounts that would later be associated with the rock. Al-Yaqubi reports (A.H. 261/874 C.E.) that Abd al-Malik intended to create an Umayyad alternative to the pilgrimage to Mecca; according to al-Muqaddasi (A.H. 375/985 C.E.), the caliph was interested foremost in creating an architectural masterpiece that would eclipse the Christian buildings in the city. A structural analysis of the Dome of the Rock illustrates this intention well.

THE DOME OF THE ROCK — QUBBAT AL-SAKHRA

An elevated platform with stairways and arcades (*marwazin*) supporting the Dome of the Rock was created to compensate for the gradually ascending terrain, from the margins toward the center (fig. 9.6).¹⁶ This upper Muslim platform could be reached from the lower Herodian platform by different staircases. A building with an octagonal plan was erected on top of this upper surface, each side measuring 20.6 meters long and 12.1 meters high (figs. 9.7–8). Entry was through any of the four entrances, on the western, northern, eastern, and southern sides.¹⁷ A small prayer niche (*mibrab*) is located east of the southern entrance. There are seven arches in each of the eight walls of the octagon; the five central arches all have windows whereas the two side



arches are blind niches. The interior space is divided into three areas by means of an intermediate octagon with archways supported by corner pillars, with two columns between each pillar.¹⁸ The visible rock in the center of the building is surrounded by a ring of archways composed of four pillars, with three columns between each pillar (fig. 9.9).¹⁹ A high drum supporting the dome rises above this ring. The wonderful architectural design of the Dome of the Rock is exemplified in that the diameter of the dome is equal to its height, thereby creating a perfect interior space. Moreover, the length of each of the eight sides of the octagon is identical to this diameter. The diameter of the dome is 20.4 meters, and its total height from the rock to the top of the dome is 35.4 meters.²⁰

The high cylindrical drum contributes to the raised appearance of the dome that rests upon it. This is even more striking when we

Fig. 9.6. Dome of the Rock, looking north-east, 1910. Courtesy of the *École biblique*.

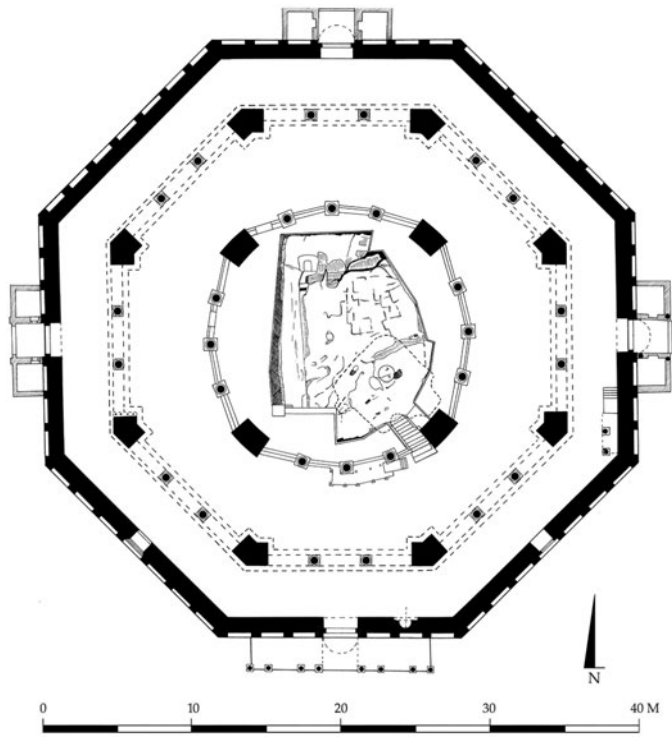


Fig. 9.7 . Plan of the Dome of the Rock. Redrawn by J. Dillon, after: Cresswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, fig. 21.

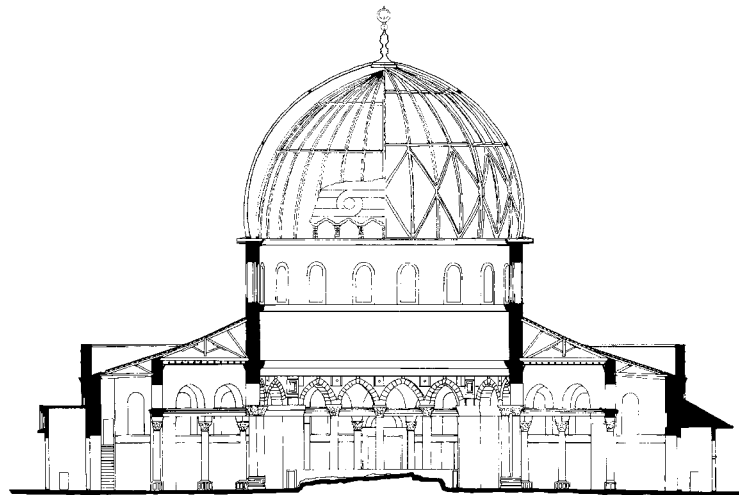


Fig. 9.8. Section of the Dome of the Rock. Redrawn by J. Dillon, after: Cresswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, fig. 20.

compare the external appearance of the Dome of the Rock, notable for its lightness, with the famous earlier domed structure — the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, whose immense dome is supported by a series of half- and quarter-domes, and appears from its exterior to be very heavy. It may be noted that the dome of Hagia Sophia is made of solid stone while the Dome of the Rock is made of wood, much lighter by nature. The high drum also contributes to the building's light appearance. The Dome of the Rock is actually composed of two separate domes, one on the inside and the other on the outside, with enough room in between for a man to pass through for maintenance purposes. This construction creates an insulation space between the domes and also distributes the dome's weight.²¹

The Umayyads, imperial patrons of a range of religious and secular buildings in Greater Syria, employed Byzantine architects and



Fig. 9.9. The rock inside the Dome of the Rock, ca. 1924. Courtesy of the École biblique.

artisans to build this magnificent centralized building located between two older rotundas in Jerusalem — the Anastasis, on the western extremity of the city on a slightly higher site, and the Imbomon, on the Mount of Olives.²² Byzantine mosaic workshops were also responsible for the interior decoration of the Dome of the Rock.²³ A 240-meter-long inscription runs along the lowest mosaic panel of both sides of the intermediate octagon (plate 11). The dedication begins on its outer side at the height of the mihrab and runs clockwise; it continues, counter-clockwise, along the inside of the octagon, recording that the Dome of the Rock was built by Caliph Abd al-Malik and completed in A.H. 72 (691–692 C.E.).²⁴

The decoration of the walls and ceilings of the Dome of the Rock were as carefully conceived by the architects as the structural components of the shrine. The lower sections of the walls and piers are covered with marble slabs (fig. 9.10). Mosaics cover the soffits and spandrels of the two arcades, the upper sections of the piers, as well as the drums — all told, a surface of about 280 square meters. Representations consist of a seemingly endless variety of shapes harmoniously and repetitively distributed over all the surfaces without ever repeating the exact same design twice. Conforming to Islamic religious principles, depictions of human figures and animals are usually avoided. The countless combinations of vegetal motifs with stylized trees, garlands, and scrolls are borrowed from the vocabulary of Byzantine churches and join palmettes, wings, and composite flowers taken from the world of Persian artistry.

Just as the choice of decorative elements in the building was meaningful, so was the choice of the building's location. The rock in the center of the structure was purposefully intended to recall the spot where the Temple of Solomon was believed to have stood. Accordingly, sacrifices in the Jewish Temple would have been performed in this location, thus marking the place where the salvation at the End of Days would ultimately begin. This concept was appropriated and pre-



Fig. 9.10. Marble carvings inside the Dome of the Rock. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

served in the Islamic tradition. The End of Days continued to be envisioned as a Paradise, and therefore this central location inside the Dome of the Rock is decorated with mosaics of palm trees, lavish tendrils, and wings. Tendrils with fruit also appear on the lower sides of the arches in the exterior arcade as well as on the architraves of the pillars and on the frieze of the exterior walls beneath the windows (the latter is not a mosaic, however, but is represented by gilded grills). This luxuriant ornamentation is reminiscent of Solomon's Temple (1 Kgs 6:29–35), and was also to appear in the Jewish Temple at the End of Days (Ezra 41:17–25).²⁵

Despite several renovations in later periods, the sanctuary preserves intact the original Umayyad period design concepts regarding the use of space, solutions for construction problems and proportions, as well as most of its internal decor. The original exterior mosaic decoration was replaced with blue faience tiles under Suleiman the Magnificent in the mid sixteenth century.

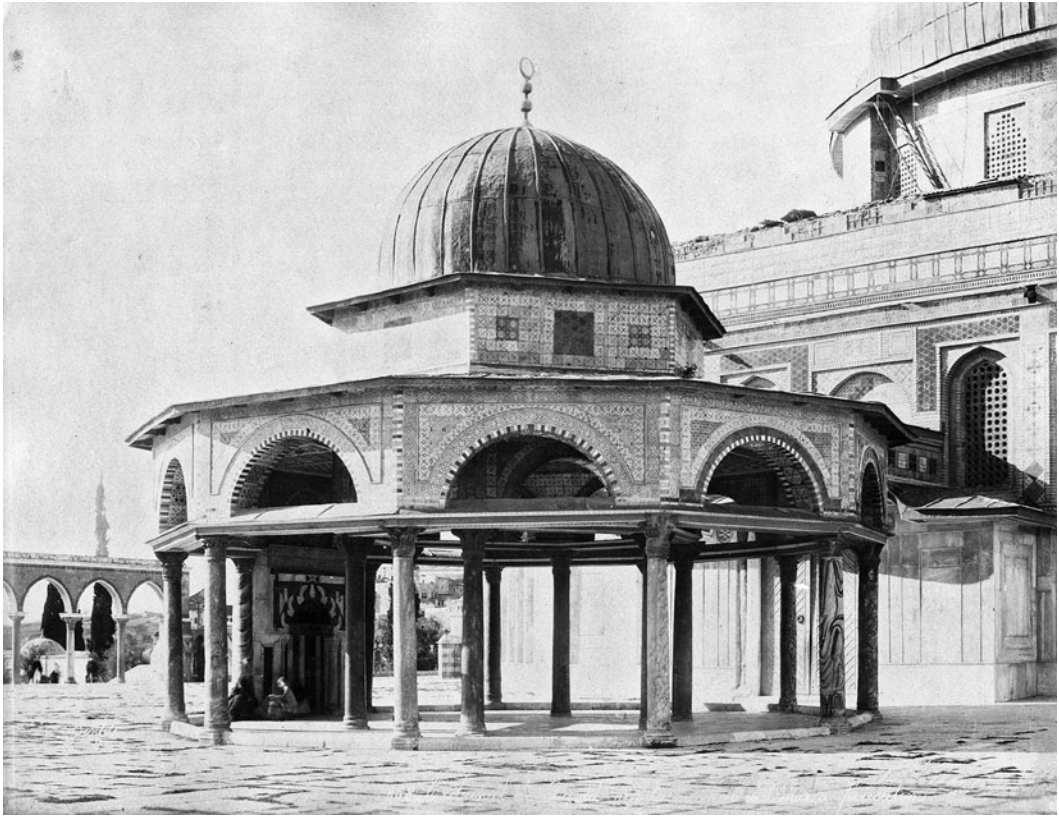
THE DOME OF THE CHAIN — QUBBAT AL-SILSILA

Close to the eastern entrance to the Dome of the Rock is the Dome of the Chain.²⁶ This is a small building, reminiscent of the Dome of the Rock, and many have suggested that it served as a model for it (fig. 9.11). This explanation, however, is unfounded; in terms of plan and elevation, the differences are considerable. Unlike the Dome of the Rock, this building is open in all directions and consists of two concentric rows of columns topped by a dome, which originally had small openings.

Column capitals and bases in the Dome of the Chain are not uniform; like examples in the Dome of the Rock, they came from other pre-Islamic buildings. Aside from the addition of the mihrab, no other structural changes were introduced into the building's plan (plate 12).²⁷ The location of the mihrab in the center of the monumental platform has been compared to the central location of the omphalos inside the Martyrium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, suggesting that the monument indicated the center of the Muslim shrine in the city. A recently discovered manuscript suggests that the Dome of the Chain was also built by Abd al-Malik.²⁸

THE AQSA MOSQUE — AL-JAMI AL-AQSA

Mention was made earlier of a rudimentary construction on top of the platform that predated the building of the Dome of the Rock.²⁹ Papyri written between A.H. 90 and 93/708 and 711 C.E. found in the Egyptian village of Kom Ishqau, or ancient Aphroditopolis, record that a relatively large number of artisans were sent to Jerusalem with building materials to build a mosque and a palace, thus indicating the approximate date of construction.³⁰ The text seems to refer to the Aqsa Mosque, and possibly to the palaces located further south, because the Dome of the Rock was already standing at this time.³¹ Based on a survey during the renovation in the 1930s, the plan of the original stone building could be reconstructed (fig. 9.12).³² It was built



over the cavities in the southern area of the Haram, and for this purpose the southern Herodian enclosure wall had to be repaired. It was a quadrangular structure, with a wide and elevated nave in the center and a clerestory for lighting. There were seven aisles on both sides of the central nave, each with an entrance from the courtyard of the platform (fig. 9.13). The entire building measured 103.5 × 50.8 meters.³³

As a result of the earthquake of A.H. 132/749 C.E., the Aqsa Mosque collapsed almost entirely, excluding the area of the mihrab. Caliph al-Mansur gave orders to rebuild the mosque on a larger scale (now 103.5 × 70 meters), and a dome was erected in front of the mihrab (fig. 9.14). It is interesting to note that the caliph had to sell the gold and silver fittings of the doors to finance this project. When Caliph al-Mahdi

Fig. 9.11. Dome of the Chain, looking southwest, ca. 1880–1900. Courtesy of the École biblique.

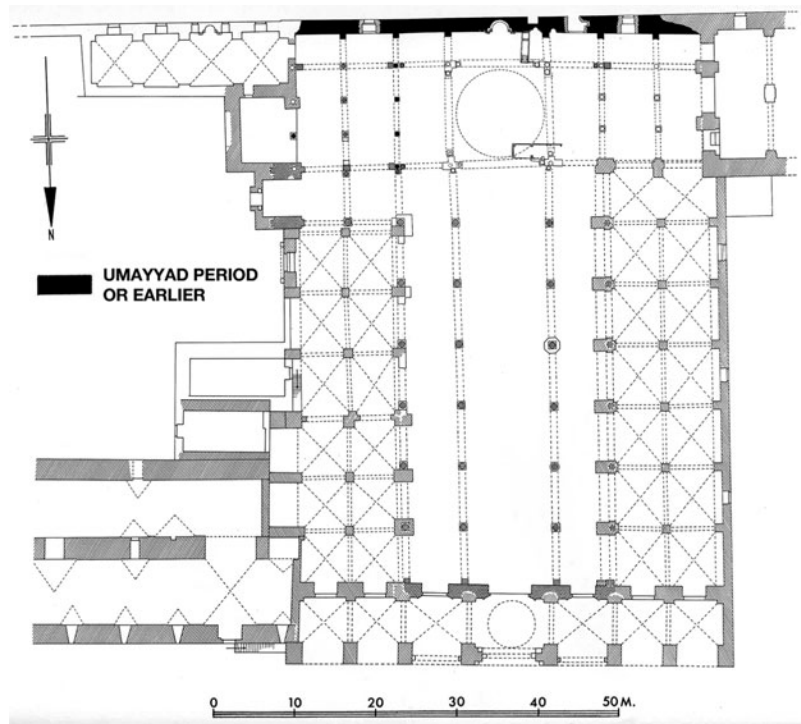


Fig. 9.12. Plan of the Aqsa Mosque. Re-drawn by J. Dillon, after: Cresswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, fig. 446.

visited al-Quds in A.H. 164–165/780 C.E., he prayed in this newly rebuilt mosque. In A.H. 425/1033 C.E., the building was again seriously damaged by an earthquake. The Fatimid ruler Caliph al-Zahir repaired it, albeit on a smaller scale. The plan of the mosque was similar to the one that exists today, although hardly anything has remained of that building. Only seven aisles have survived; the square area below the dome is most likely the only area that still exists from the Fatimid structure, although fragments of earlier periods can be found there as well.³⁴

Secular Architecture

At the foot of the southern wall and southwestern corner of the Haram al-Sharif, a complex of Umayyad buildings was partially excavated (fig. 9.15).³⁵ The presence of a Governor's House (Dar al-



Imara) near a mosque is common for the Early Islamic period in other parts of the Muslim world as well.³⁶ These structures included residences, administrative buildings, storerooms, baths, and installations for craftsmen, and were meant to be used for secular purposes.

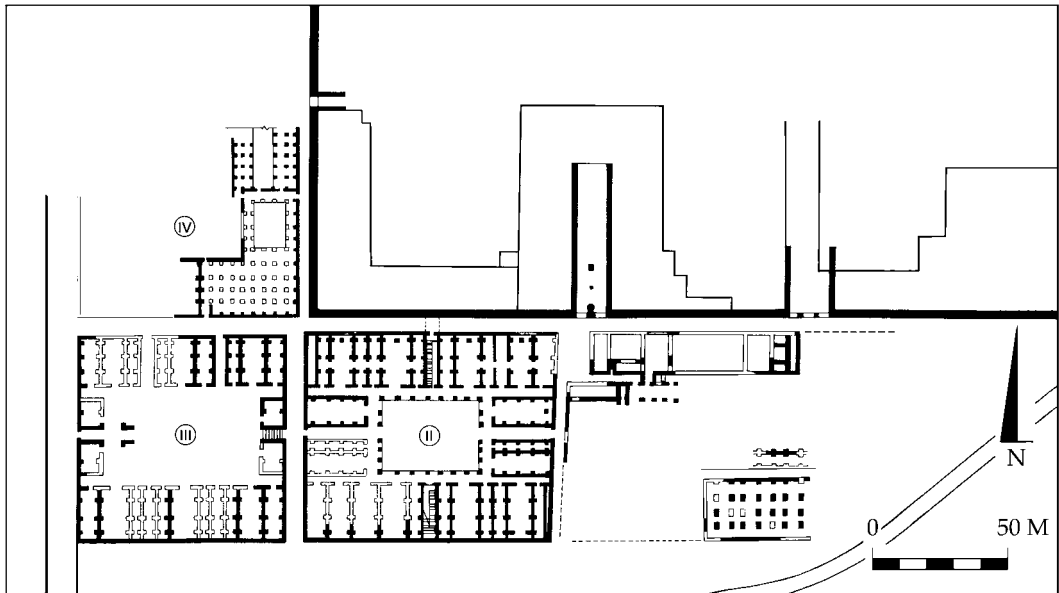
The complex consisted of at least six buildings planned in conjunction with the monumental platform. A bridge connected the roof of Building II with the Aqsa Mosque, spanning the street running along the southern wall and enabling direct access from the roof of the building into the mosque. Construction of the complex probably began during the reign of Abd al-Malik, but work continued into that of Walid I. Buildings II and III were similar in plan, with rooms arranged around an open courtyard, partly paved with stone and partly planted with flowers and trees; covered porticoes surrounded the open central space (fig. 9.16).³⁷ The foundations of the interior and exterior walls were massive and set deeply into the ground, often reaching 9 meters

Fig. 9.13. The Aqsa Mosque with Ayyubid porch, looking south-east, British Mandate period. Courtesy of the École biblique.



Fig. 9.14. The dome and the mihrab at the southern end of the Aqsa Mosque, 1930. Courtesy of the École biblique.

below floor level. The roofs were flat timber beams supported by arches. The windows were placed high above the floor (about 4 meters). A well-designed sewage system constructed of clay pipes was discovered in one of the buildings. The pipes were installed vertically in grooves carved in the walls, indicating the existence of an upper level. The floor plans of Buildings II and III were adapted from the Roman-Byzantine fortress plan and resemble those of many other Umayyad mansions and palaces. In contrast to other contemporary buildings in Palestine, Transjordan, and Syria, the two buildings in Jerusalem lack corner towers.³⁸ Such towers were defensive in purpose and would have been superfluous inside a walled city such as Jerusalem. Building II had three gates — northern, eastern, and western — each of which was located in the center of its wall.³⁹ Most walls



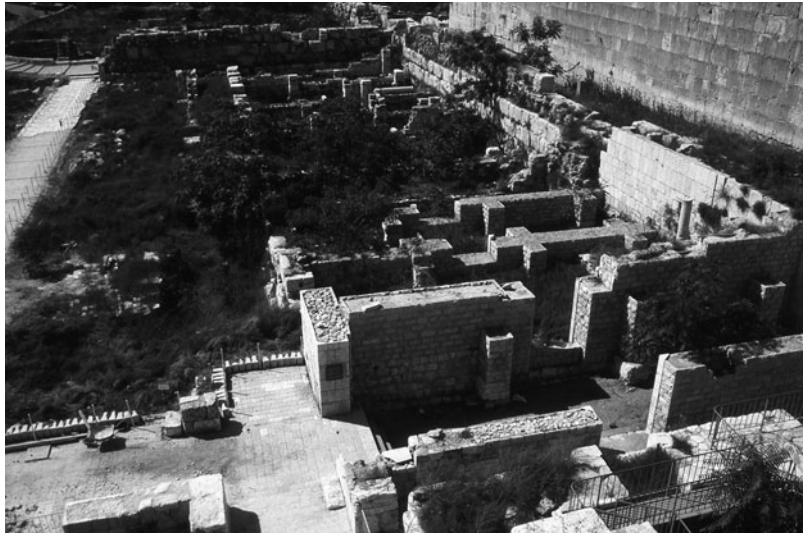
were plastered on the inside; some were decorated with polychrome frescoes bearing geometric and floral designs. The simplicity of the wall decoration and of the gates is distinct from what is known about other Umayyad palaces outside Jerusalem and may be due to the sanctity of the city.

In addition to Buildings II and III, four only partially excavated buildings border the western and southern walls of the Haram. The northern Building IV included an earlier bathhouse with its furnaces still in place. Despite its fragmentary state, the original size of the *caldarium* can be reconstructed as covering an area of more than 1000 square meters.⁴⁰

Late in the Umayyad period (A.H. 132/749 C.E.), a great earthquake destroyed the palace and adjacent structures; they were rebuilt in the subsequent Abbasid period; then during the Fatimid period, Building II was completely modified and Building IV renovated. Towards the end of the eleventh century the by then mostly dilapidated buildings were converted into a huge quarry, an excellent source of high-quality building stone. The area south of Building IV was used

Fig. 9.15. Plan of Buildings II–IV south of the Haram al-Sharif. The addition of the western side of Building III bordering the *cardo* is based on excavations conducted in 1948 (compare fig. 9.2). Redrawn by J. Dillon, after: Bahat, “Physical Infrastructure,” 71; corrections by K. Bieberstein and H. Bloedhorn.

Fig. 9.16. The courtyard and northern wing of Building II, bordering the southern wall of the Haram al-Sharif. Photo H. Bloedhorn.



as a cemetery, suggesting that the glamorous complex that once stood here was entirely forgotten.⁴¹

Distinctive Finds

The principles of classic Islamic artistic creativity were already evident in Jerusalem from the beginning of the Early Islamic period. In addition to Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine artistic traditions previously established in Palestine, newly imported influences from Coptic, Sassanian, and Persian art gave birth to a unique school of Islamic art that developed in the Umayyad period.

Early Islamic art is notable for the wealth of materials used and for its ornamentation, primarily as architectural decoration. The principal materials used were marble, glass tesserae, metal, and wood. The variety of colors, accompanied by many gold highlights, is one of the characteristics that distinguish Jerusalem's architecture from contemporary buildings elsewhere.

STONE AND WOOD CARVINGS

Unlike most decorative techniques used in the Early Islamic period, which were derivatives or continuations of pre-Islamic traditions, some of the wood and stone carvings were unique creations of the Umayyad period.

A series of carved marble panels from the end of the seventh century has been preserved in different locations inside the Dome of the Rock—along the interior walls, around the corner pillars of the intermediate octagon, around the pillars of the central ring, and in one or two areas of the drum supporting the dome. The floral and architectural motifs, consisting of rosettes, half-palmettes, and continuous arcades of trees, integrate themselves into the global decorative scheme of the building while preserving a particular theme for each subsection. Most of the design, which is made with the *champlevé* technique, is on the surface level, with the background shallowly etched out.⁴²

Even more fortunate is the preservation of a group of carved wood panels, constituting the only surviving element of the original Umayyad period Aqsa Mosque (fig. 9.17).⁴³ These woodcarvings were used to embellish the supporting end of the mosque's roof beams. The decorative theme is in relief, with additional details lightly incised or carved out. Like the marble panels, the wood panels were originally polychrome. Although the compositions are very similar and integrate themselves harmoniously into the general iconographic and decorative scheme, there is virtually no repetition of design from one panel to the next.



Fig. 9.17. Decorated wooden console in the Aqsa Mosque. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 9.18. Metal plate above the southern entrance of the Dome of the Rock. Courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society.

CALLIGRAPHY

Jerusalem exhibits inscriptions from various subperiods of the Early Islamic period. Some of the examples can be dated and therefore allow us to trace the development of ornamental Arabic script from its inception in the Umayyad period through the middle of the Fatimid period.

The earliest Umayyad inscription is found on both sides of the arcade of the intermediate octagon of the Dome of the Rock. The letters of this mosaic inscription are made of tesserae backed with gold leaf placed against a green background. The straight baseline from which the thin and strictly angular letters sprout is characteristic of Kufic script.

Additional contemporary inscriptions decorated metal plates set above two of the four entrances to the Dome of the Rock (fig. 9.18).⁴⁴ Two metal plate inscriptions have the date of Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun on them. The date of Abd al-Malik is preserved in the mosaic inscription around the octagon.



The most beautiful Fatimid inscription is another mosaic found on the arch in front of the dome of the Aqsa Mosque. The inscription consists of two complete lines and can be dated to about A.H. 426/1035 C.E. The flourishes at the end of the letters and the ornamentation along their upper extremities are characteristic of the so-called “flowering Kufic” script (fig. 9.19).

Beyond the informative aspect of the inscriptions, these early examples of calligraphy are documents of a newly and rapidly evolving artistic creation within Islam.

Fig. 9.19. Kufic inscription from the Dome of the Rock. Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, III, plate 12.

10 ♦ The Crusader and Ayyubid Periods

The entry to Jerusalem is on the west side next to the Tower of David. Beneath in the city is the Sepulchre of the Lord, and outside it is the centre of the world. From there to the north is the Prison of the Lord, and next to it is where he was bound and flogged, crowned and stripped, and where his clothes were shared out. Mount Calvary: under it is Golgotha, where the blood of the Lord fell through the rent rock. Beyond this mount is a place where St. Helena found the Cross of the Lord.

Ottobonian Guide, chapter 2

A European-Oriental Metropolis

The end of the eleventh century in Europe ushered in the epic movement of the European Crusades for the recovery of the Tomb of Christ from the “infidels.” The First Crusade, led by Godfrey of Bouil-

lon, reached the walls of Jerusalem after a march of several years across southeastern Europe, Asia Minor, and Syria. On Shaban 22, A.H. 492 / July 15, 1099 C.E., the Crusaders stormed the city, and in the ensuing carnage the Muslim population was slaughtered and Jews were burnt in their synagogues. The conquering knights divided the city's houses and palaces among themselves. Godfrey assumed the title "Protector of the Holy Sepulchre," and his successor, Baldwin I, crowned himself king of Jerusalem.¹

For the thousand years that followed Jerusalem's destruction by Titus in 70, the city was considered a provincial outpost. With the rise of the Crusader Kingdom, it again assumed the status of capital. The feudal system served as the model for the Crusader administration. The Church, which inspired the movement in the name of the Christian religion, owned the land; the knights were responsible for the fighting, and the merchants, mostly from Italy, supplied the fleets. Later, additional powers were granted to the three military orders — the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights. The Latin patriarch was the local representative of the pope, whose power rivaled that of the king.

The Crusaders first confiscated the property abandoned by the Muslims and made no changes to the city's appearance. Only in subsequent years did they begin large-scale construction, primarily of churches. Here and there the Crusaders dismantled older buildings. On the Haram al-Sharif, they converted the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque into churches.

A distinctive feature of Crusader Jerusalem was its cosmopolitanism; the population was composed, on the one hand, of members of the Oriental Christian communities (Armenian, Georgian, Greek, Syrian) and, on the other, of the Franks, the newcomers from Europe. Among the latter were English, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish.

Salah al-Din (A.H. 533–90 / 1138–93 C.E.), founder of the Ayyubid Dynasty, was raised and educated in Damascus, which at the time was

the main center of Moslem learning and a center of Moslem culture. Salah al-Din succeeded his uncle as vizier of Egypt and soon extended his rule over Syria. After the battle at Hittin on Rabi' II 25, A.H. 583/ July 4, 1187 C.E., he controlled, either by conquest or negotiation, all of the territory that encompassed the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

In contrast to the Crusaders' actions in the city eighty-eight years earlier, Salah al-Din treated the Christian inhabitants with the utmost chivalry and generosity. He reassumed possession of the Haram al-Sharif, with the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, which he purified with rose water and restored to their former state, but he left most of the churches untouched, except those adjacent to the northern and western enclosure walls of the Haram. As a result of the treaty between Frederic II and Salah al-Din in A.H. 627/1229 C.E., the Crusaders were allowed to continue to live in Jerusalem for ten years. They stayed until A.H. 642/1244 C.E., when the Khwarezmian Turks occupied the city. Christian rule in Jerusalem at this time ceased until the British occupation in 1917. The Crusader Kingdom maintained itself on the Mediterranean coast until A.H. 690/1291 C.E., with its capital in Acre.

Fortifications and Gates

Two major fortification projects are known to have taken place in the eleventh century (A.H. 425/1033 C.E. and A.H. 455-56/1063 C.E.). Just a year before the arrival of the Crusaders in Jerusalem, the Fatimids made repairs after recapturing the city from the Seljuks. Most of the written evidence on the city's defenses built under Seljuk and Fatimid rule is contained in the Frankish sources describing the conquest of Jerusalem in A.H. 492/1099 C.E. After the conquest, the Crusaders made two major repairs to the walls (in A.H. 510/1116 C.E. and A.H. 573/1177 C.E.).² After Salah al-Din captured the city (A.H. 583/1187 C.E.), an additional phase of repair is recorded.³ The Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Isa's repair in the early thirteenth

century (A.H. 599–609/1202–12 C.E.) is better known from archaeological finds than from historical sources. “Ironically, it was al-Mu‘azzam himself who subsequently, in March 1219, destroyed the walls of Jerusalem, leaving them in ruins until they were rebuilt by the Ottoman sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent . . . [A.H. 944–948/1537–41 C.E.]. This destruction was extensive, involving the dismantling of towers and sections of both the main wall and the forewall. The Citadel, however, remained intact.”⁴

Several well-preserved sections of the forewall built (or restored) under Seljuk rule (A.H. 466–92/1073–98 C.E.) were uncovered in the northern and western sections of the Old City wall.⁵ Approximately 4.5 meters wide, it was constructed directly above the rock-cut scarp of the moat and was preserved to a maximum height of 5 meters. It is constructed from roughly shaped fieldstones and, like the main wall, has prominent towers set on projections in the rock-cut scarp. The moat, or fosse, was probably constructed at the same time as the forewall and served as a source of building stones for both walls. The northern moat, approximately 19 meters wide and 7 meters deep, is still visible at a number of points.⁶ The only place where a fairly extensive stretch of the main Crusader wall can be seen together with its forewall is north of David’s Gate, where it is preserved in places up to eleven or twelve courses with an average width of 3 meters.⁷

THE TOWER OF DAVID AND THE CITADEL

When the Crusader troops broke into the city through the northern wall on Shaban 22, A.H. 492/July 15, 1099 C.E., the Muslim and Jewish inhabitants fled to the Tower of David (figs. 10.1–2). This tower was built on top of the Herodian podium, which had once been the base of one of three towers of the Citadel of Jerusalem built by King Herod in the first century B.C.E. According to the written sources, the tower was simply built into the city wall.⁸ As of 1120, Godfrey of Bouillon used the tower as his residence; it also served as a strong-



Fig. 10.1. Aerial view of the Citadel, looking southeast. Photo H. Bloedhorn.

hold and as one of the chief centers of civic administration. Its traditional connection with King David gave it a special significance in Frankish eyes that transformed it into a symbol of Frankish sovereignty in Jerusalem.⁹

In the second half of the twelfth century, the permanent population of Jerusalem continued to grow and was augmented by merchants and masses of pilgrims who entered the city through David's Gate. It is therefore hardly surprising that the need was felt for new administrative buildings, including a new royal palace and a larger citadel. The rebuilding of the citadel and the new palace constituted a major project in Jerusalem around 1120, just prior to the rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the 1140s. Archaeological remains of this well-fortified courtyard complex, surrounded by its own curtain wall and forewall and flanked by several towers, were uncovered during different excavation campaigns.¹⁰ Following its destruction by al-Nasir Da'ud of

al-Karak in 1239, the Citadel was rebuilt under Mamluk and Ottoman rule to take on its present form.¹¹ Today's Citadel is probably very similar to the expanded Citadel of the later twelfth century.

GATES

Crusader Jerusalem had five major gates and several minor gates or posterns (perhaps as many as eight).¹² The principal gates were David's Gate in the west (modern Jaffa Gate), St. Stephen's Gate in the north (modern Damascus Gate), the Gate of Jehoshaphat (mod-

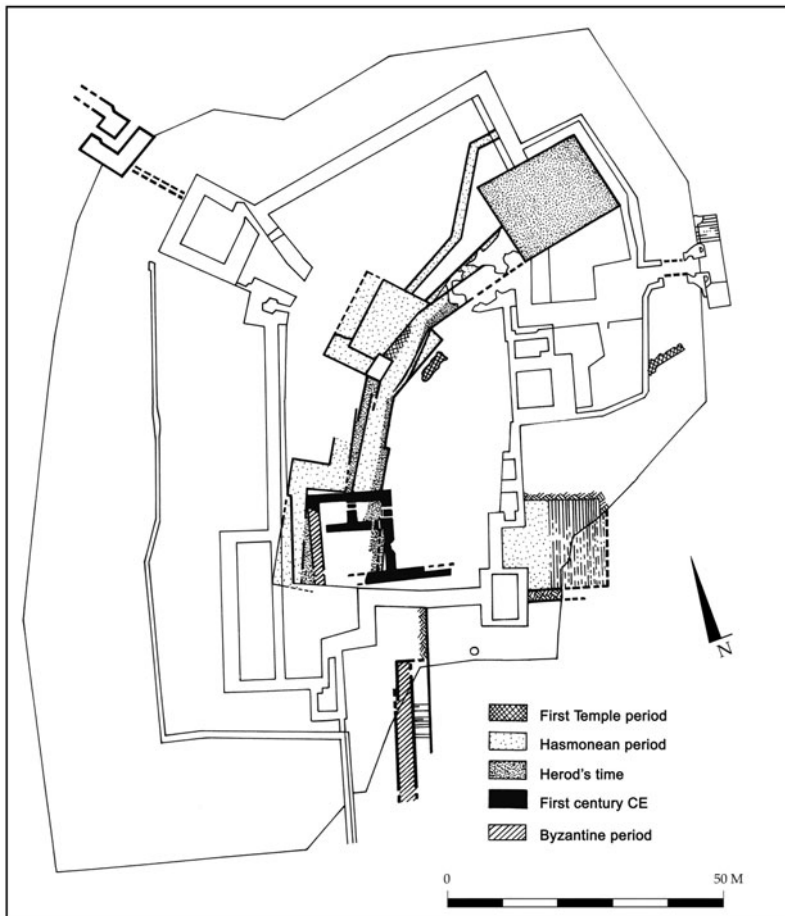


Fig. 10.2. Plan of the Citadel. Redrawn by J. Dillon, after: Geva, "First Wall," 724.

ern Lions' or St. Stephen's Gate), the Golden Gate or the Gate of Mercy in the east, and Mount Zion Gate (modern Zion Gate) in the south. As in other walled towns, the gates of Jerusalem were closed from sunset to sunrise.¹³ In most cases, possibly in all, they were protected by gate towers with indirect entrance passages.

Streets, Quarters, and Marketplaces

The network of streets laid in the Byzantine period continued to exist throughout the Crusader period (figs. 10.3–4).¹⁴ The impressive pavements of the main streets had deteriorated, but were refurbished in the Early Islamic and Crusader periods. This process became evident from the archaeological excavations conducted at the former Byzantine *cardo* and elsewhere in the city.¹⁵



Fig. 10.3. One of the thoroughfares of the triple-lane Crusader suq southeast of the Holy Sepulchre, looking north, 1936. Courtesy of the École biblique.

The principal thoroughfares were no wider than 5 meters; the narrow and often steep streets made vehicular transport difficult, and most of the time impossible. David Street, the main east–west artery, and the ancient Byzantine main street, the principal north–south artery, are often steep and in some places stepped. Most traffic inside the city walls was therefore pedestrian. Goods were transported on small, two-wheeled handcarts, similar to the ones in use today.

The network of streets divided Crusader Jerusalem into a number of quarters.¹⁶ The Patriarch's Quarter, which was administered by the patriarchate, was autonomous in the Crusader city. It was virtually identical to the present-day Christian Quarter. The northeastern quarter was inhabited by Jews (who still retained the name *Judaria* or *Juvrie*) until they were massacred or evicted during the Crusader



Fig. 10.4. Inscription “Anna” in the triple-lane Crusader suq, indicating its ownership by the Church of St. Anne. Photo H. Bloedhorn.

conquest of the city; it was then occupied by Eastern Christians who hailed from beyond the Jordan River, from the area around al-Karak.¹⁷ The Armenians occupied the southwestern quarter. The southeastern part of the city was occupied by Germans, and there seem to have been other communities located in other parts of the city—Provençals, Hungarians, and Greeks, for example. One should be wary of suggesting that there was a rigid division of the city quarters along ethnic lines, however. For example, it is not at all certain that there were any German residents on Germans’ Street except in the German Hospice itself, and the same is true for other supposedly ethnic divisions such as the Spanish Street in the north of the city.¹⁸

Jerusalem was not a major commercial center like Acre and Tyre, but with a growing population and with the great influx of pilgrims arriving in the city, the need grew to supply them with food, clothing, religious articles, keepsakes, and a variety of other commodities. In order to cater to this trade, Frankish merchants and craftsmen inhabited the old bazaars. The open fields on the outskirts of the city, but within the walls, were occupied by open markets selling grain, pigs, and cattle. Nearby were the workshops of the tanners and the butchers’ stalls. Market streets, halls, and squares in the heart of the city were reserved for foodstuffs and manufactured items.¹⁹

Unlike most Roman and Byzantine shops, of which only partial fragments have survived, the remains of Crusader market structures are very well preserved. Some are still in use today. These market structures could be barrel-vaulted passageways or individual rows of shops with groin-vaulted bays facing the streets. Some of the shops were large enough for work and storage areas. The occasional existence of upper levels suggests that shop owners may have lived on the premises as well.²⁰

Military Orders

Three military orders concentrated their forces in Jerusalem. The Templars converted the Aqsa Mosque and the southern part of the Haram into their living quarters and used the subterranean areas as stables.²¹ Those well-preserved structures are still referred to as Solomon's Stables (fig. 6.9). The Hospitallers were based south of the Holy Sepulchre, where the order's living quarters and hospitals were located.²² The name Muristan, today applied to the relatively recent marketplace (constructed shortly after 1900) adjacent to the Holy Sepulchre, is actually a corruption of the Persian word *bimeristan* (hospital).²³ The Teutonic Knights, who in the twelfth century were merely a branch of the Hospitallers, had their headquarters in the modern-day Jewish Quarter.²⁴ Another order, the Lepers of St. Lazar, was located outside the city, near the present-day New Gate.²⁵

Churches, Chapels, and Monasteries

After the Crusaders conquered the city, they soon embarked on a major church-building program, which reached its peak some fifty years later, with the dedication of the new Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The architectural variety among these buildings is impressive, consisting of a mixture of local and long-established forms as well as more innovative styles imported from Europe. Among the many

churches of Jerusalem were those that, through association with Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, or other holy personages, came to be held in particularly high regard. Most of these traditions originated in the Byzantine period. Some others, like the *Templum Domini* (the Dome of the Rock), achieved their status as important Christian holy sites only under Crusader rule. In contrast to the coastal cities, Jerusalem's architectural program consisted mainly of churches, monasteries, and establishments of the orders.²⁶ Based on their differences in organization, tradition, and architectural style, they can be divided into four groups: those belonging to the Augustinian Order; the Benedictine Order; the Secular Orders; and, finally, the Armenians.²⁷

The first group includes the four chapters of the four principal churches in Jerusalem; the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the *Templum Domini* within the city's boundaries; St. Mary on Mount Zion, and the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives.

THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

As early as A.H. 411/1020 C.E., Caliph al-Hakim returned the church with its confiscated goods to the Jerusalemites. Mass was temporarily held in the ruins of the building since funds for reconstruction were not yet available.²⁸ Under al-Hakim's successor az-Zahir, a treaty between the Fatimids and the Byzantines was signed, allowing Emperor Constantine VIII to rebuild the ruined church.²⁹ The treaty was renewed under Romanus III Argyrus, but it was not until Constantine IX Monomachus that renovation began in 1033, albeit on a limited scale; the work was completed in 1048.³⁰ The *Martyrium Basilica* proper was never rebuilt. The focus of the project was the reconstruction of the *Anastasis Rotunda*. In order to create an enclosed house of worship, its eastern side was closed with an apse (fig. 10.5).³¹ The rock of Golgotha in the southeastern corner of the *Triportico* remained intact. Three additional chapels were added south of the rotunda. When the Crusaders arrived on the scene in



Fig. 10.5. The eleventh-century restorations in the Holy Sepulchre; northern section of the former eastern apse of the rotunda. Photo H. Bloedhorn.

1099, the rotunda, the chapels, and Golgotha were all that remained of the grand Constantinian church complex.

In 1114, Patriarch Arculf installed a chapter of Augustinian canons and built a monastery with a cloister on the rubble of the former Martyrium Basilica.³² The construction of the church itself did not get under way until well into the twelfth century (figs. 10.6–7).³³ Since it was the ultimate pilgrimage church (fig. 10.8), the Franks chose to rebuild it based on the model of the great Romanesque pilgrimage churches in Europe.³⁴ Only the choir with the ambulatory was built, however.³⁵ Its design allowed large numbers of pilgrims to move freely about the church without disturbing the canons' services in the choir, and gave access to different chapels in the transept and ambulatory so that several Masses could be held simultaneously. Now, for the first time, Golgotha and Calvary were included in the church rather than being located in its courtyard. The façade was decorated with columns, archivolts, and cornices uniformly produced in Crusader work-

shops (figs. 10.9–10). The walls inside and outside the building were covered with paintings or mosaics, of which only one has survived (plate 13). The new church was dedicated on July 15, 1149, fifty years after the conquest of the city.

When Salah al-Din took the city in A.H. 583/1187 C.E., he ignored the demands of some of the emirs to destroy the church. He realized that it was the sanctity of the site, not the building, that attracted the veneration of Christians.³⁶ Other than the interior (wall paintings, mosaics, liturgical furniture—and the *aedicula*, which was destroyed by the great fire of October 12, 1808), the current structure largely reflects the original medieval state of the church.

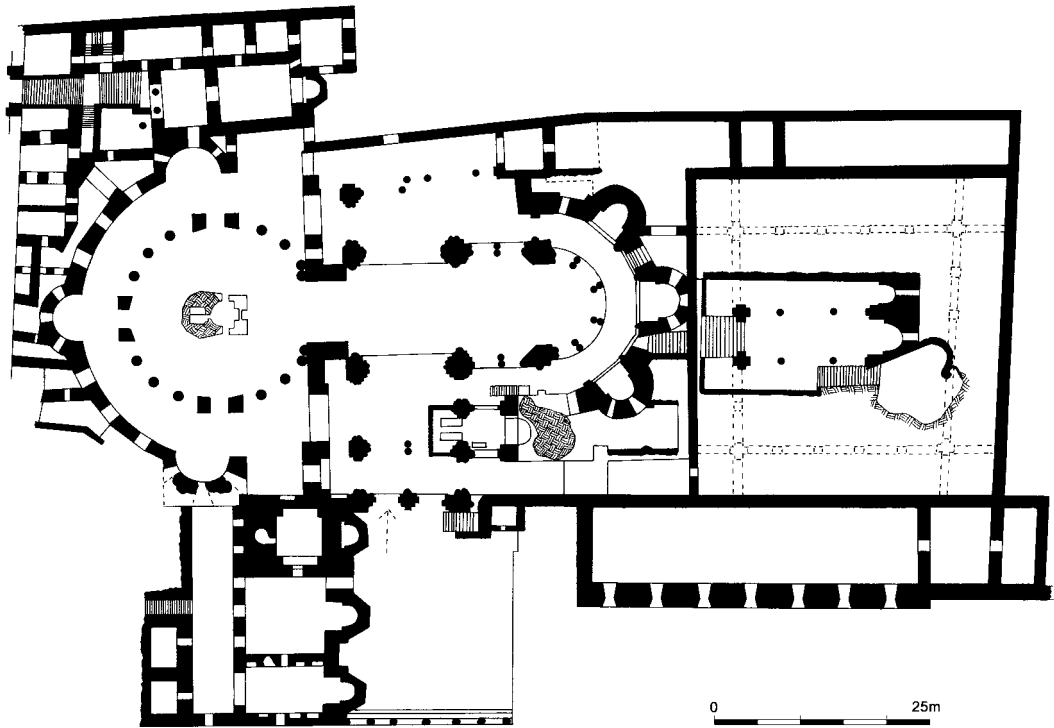


Fig. 10.6. Plan of the Crusader Holy Sepulchre. Redrawn by J. Dillon, after: Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro*, plate 6.

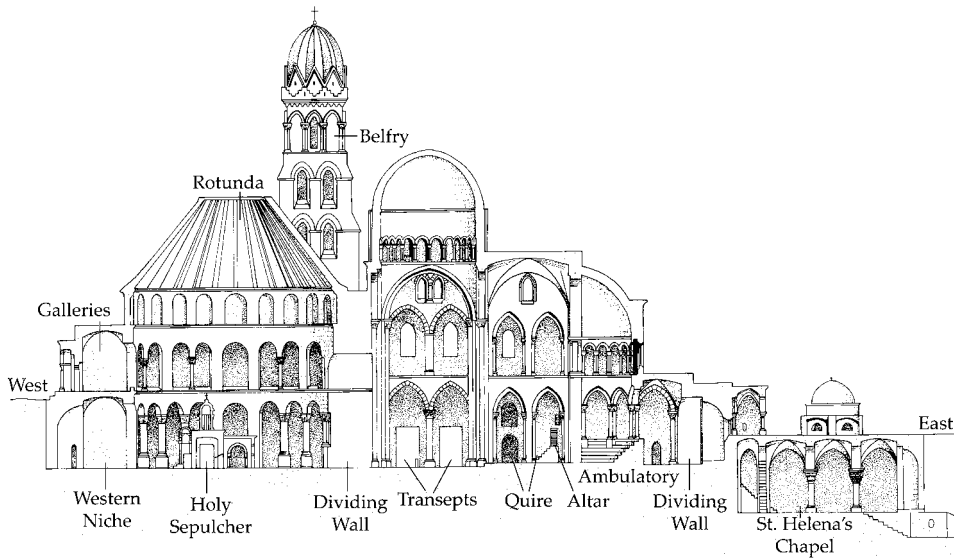


Fig. 10.7. Section of the Crusader Holy Sepulchre. Redrawn by J. Dillon, after: Bahat, *Illustrated Atlas*, 94–95.



Fig. 10.8. Pilgrim's crosses next to the stairway leading down to the Chapel of St. Helena. Photo H. Bloedhorn.



Fig. 10.9. Twin portal of the Crusader entrance to the Holy Sepulchre with the original lintels still in situ, ca. 1880–1900. Courtesy of the École biblique.

THE *TEMPLUM DOMINI*

The *Templum Domini* was one of the prominent features on medieval maps of the city.³⁷ It was depicted on the royal seals of the kings of Jerusalem alongside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Tower of David and is described in detail in most of the itineraria. The Franks identified the Umayyad shrine on the former Temple Mount with the biblical Temple; thus able to justify leaving this remarkable Muslim building intact after the conquest, they transformed it into a church dedicated to St. Mary. Certain alterations were necessary to lend the building a Christian character and to protect it from the growing numbers of pilgrims and their increasing desire to obtain holy relics. This work commenced around 1114

and continued for several years. Changes included covering the rock with marble slabs, enclosing it in an iron grille, and placing a great cross on the dome, which in the tenth century had been plated with gilded brass (fig. 10.11). This was perhaps an intentional measure taken by the Franks together with the rebuilding of the Holy Sepulchre to restore the balance between the two religious foci in the city, the Haram al-Sharif and the Holy Sepulchre. A degree of parity seems to have been achieved by enhancing the latter and lessening somewhat the visual impact of the former.

From 1112, Augustinian canons were installed in the Church of St. Mary. Not long thereafter they were housed in an abbey built on the northern part of the platform. Almost nothing is known of the conventual buildings of the canons.

In A.H. 583/1187 C.E., following the Ayyubid conquest, the Dome of the Rock reverted to Muslim use. The gold-plated cross was lowered from the top and the dome was regilded. The altar and marble slabs were removed from over the rock and the frescoes were effaced. The iron grille remained in place until the middle of the twentieth century.



Fig. 10.10. Cornice outside the Chapel of the Franks. Photo H. Bloedhorn.

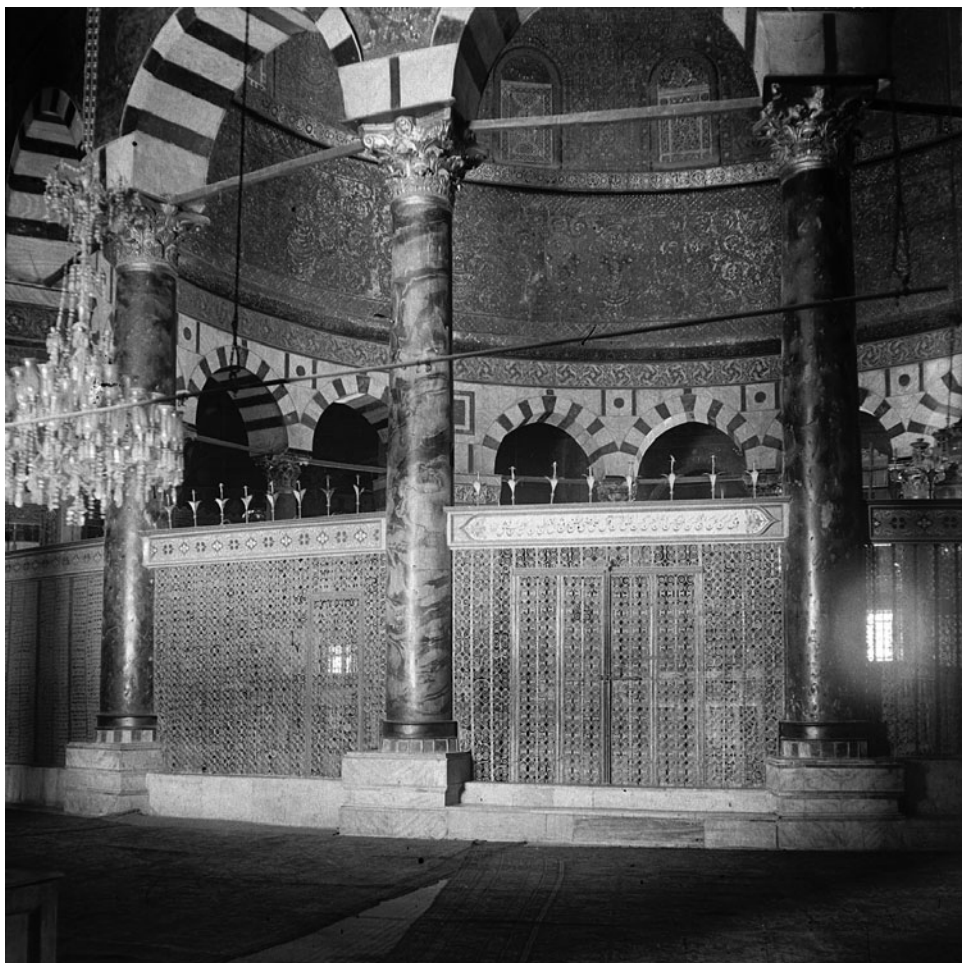


Fig. 10.11. The Crusader period iron grill inside the Dome of the Rock, ca. 1880–1900; replaced in the 1960s by a wooden screen. Courtesy of the *École biblique*.

ST. MARY ON MOUNT ZION

Another important church in Crusader Jerusalem was St. Mary on Mount Zion.³⁸ This church with its abbey marked the traditional site of the home of St. Mary and some of the central events in the Gospels, notably the Last Supper and Pentecost. The church was apparently rebuilt by the Franks in the first decades of the twelfth century, incorporating the foundations of the former Byzantine church Hagia Sion

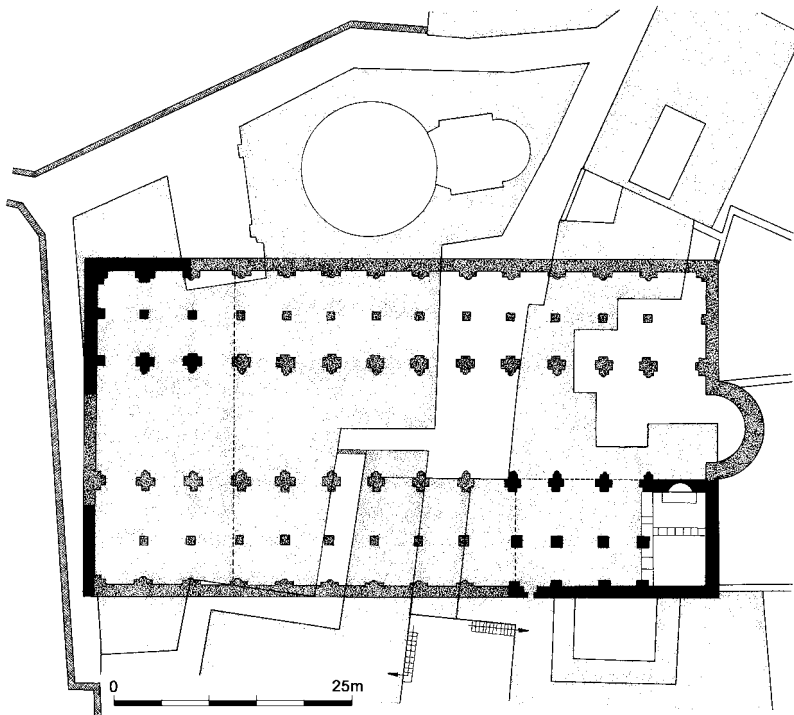


Fig. 10.12. Plan of the church of St. Mary on Mount Zion. The walls and pillars marked in black still exist; the hatched ones are reconstructed. The broken line in the west indicates the western extent of the original Byzantine church. The Cenacle is in the southeastern corner on the second floor, above the traditional Tomb of David. The round church to the north is the Benedictine Church of the Dormition Abbey consecrated in 1910. Drawing by K. Bieberstein.

(fig. 10.12). The triapsidal basilica was enlarged to the west (by ca. 14 meters) and was now the second-largest church in twelfth-century Jerusalem.

In 1187, Salah al-Din gave the church to the Oriental Christians. Shortly after, in 1219, it was destroyed by the Ayyubids. When the Crusaders were allowed to resettle in Jerusalem in 1229, they set about to rebuild the church. All that remains standing of this former building, which had a central nave flanked by four side aisles, is the southeast corner, including its pillars and columns; the foundations of the northwest corner and western wall are preserved underneath the modern abbey. The ground level of the southeast corner of the church houses the traditional Tomb of King David; the upper level contains the Cenacle, the traditional room of the Last Supper (figs. 10.13–14).³⁹



Fig. 10.13. Inside the Cenacle, looking northwest, 1908. Courtesy of the École biblique.

THE CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION

The original Byzantine church, circular in plan, was destroyed sometime during the tenth or eleventh century. Immediately after the conquest of the city, the Crusaders built a small open aedicula on the Mount of Olives, described by Abbot Daniel in 1106.⁴⁰ After 1130, a new octagonal chapel (8 meters in diameter) was erected on top of the

rock on which, according to tradition, the footprint of Christ was preserved.⁴¹ The aedicula was decorated on its exterior with marble impostes and capitals (fig. 10.15).⁴² The surrounding courtyard — possibly including a portico — was also octagonal (37.8 meters in diameter). The design has been compared to that of the Dome of the Rock, and it seems that this newly erected building was an imitation of the Umayyad structure. At the end of the fifteenth century, the octagonal courtyard was reduced on its eastern and southeastern sides; later, a new cupola was placed on top of the aedicula.

ST. ANNE

The Benedictine complexes in the city were just as important as the four Augustinian ones. These, too, perpetuated traditions established in pre-Crusader times. The architectural similarities between Benedictine and Augustinian constructions are evident, in large basilicas with a central nave, two side aisles, and a transeptal dome.

The earliest among these edifices is St. Anne, located immediately west of the Lions' Gate or the Gate of Jehoshaphat (fig. 10.16).⁴³ The associated Benedictine convent, founded at the beginning of Frankish rule, became one of the wealthiest and most important ecclesiastical establishments in the city. Built south of the former Byzantine church of St. Mary of the Piscina Probatica and dedicated to St. Anne, mother



Fig. 10.14. Southern pillar with two buttresses; the right one pointing toward the nave of the former church of St. Mary on Mount Zion, the left one pointing toward the southern aisle. Photo H. Bloedhorn.



Fig. 10.15. The Church of the Ascension, ca. 1880–1900. Courtesy of the École biblique.

of the Virgin Mary, the basilica marked the place traditionally held to be where Anne and Joachim lived. A church or chapel must have existed on the site before the new basilica was constructed in the 1140s. St. Anne is a fairly standard Romanesque triapsidal basilica, apart from the inscribed transept and the cupola at the junction of the nave and transept (figs. 10.17–18). The façade of the church has a central hood-arched door and a second door on the south. The upper window of two above the main door is nearly as large as the door; above it is a shallow gable. The crypt of the church, originally a cave, is traditionally identified as the birthplace of the Virgin Mary. The belfry in the southwest corner was one of the most imposing features of the church in the Crusader period. The upper level of this massive struc-



ture, somewhat taller than the church, had large, hood-arched double windows and, like the belfry of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was supported by buttresses.

Part of the aesthetic quality of this church lies in its simplicity, reinforced by the absence of remains of the mosaics and frescoes that originally covered its walls. The architectural sculpture is very simple; there is remarkably little of it. In A.H. 588/1192 C.E., the church was converted into the Madrasa al-Salahiya, a school for teaching Islamic theology and religious law. In 1856, after the Crimean War, the Ottoman sultan presented it to Napoleon III and the interior was renovated and cleared of later additions.

Fig. 10.16. St. Anne, looking northeast, British Mandate period. Courtesy of the *École biblique*.

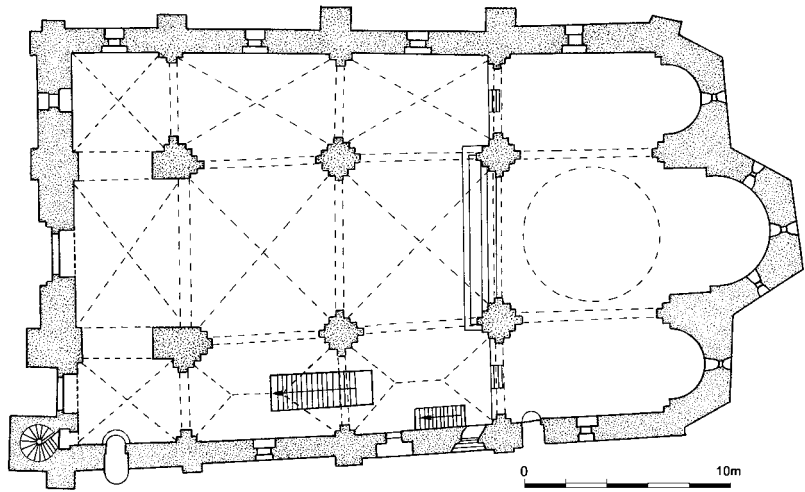


Fig. 10.17. Plan of St. Anne. Drawing by J. Dillon, after: Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, II 4, plate 70.

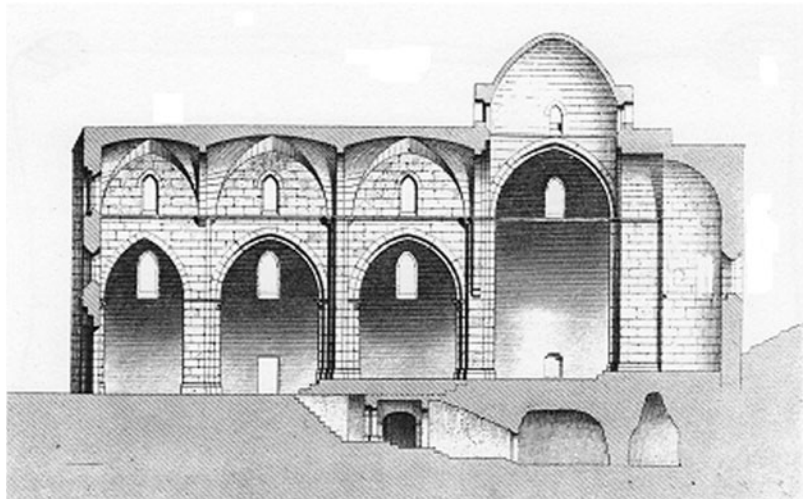


Fig. 10.18. Section of St. Anne. De Vogüé, *Églises de la Terre Sainte*, plate 14.

ST. MARY LATINA AND ST. MARY MAJOR

Two churches of St. Mary, very similar in plan, were founded south of the Holy Sepulchre. Partial remains of these churches survived until the end of the nineteenth century.

The original St. Mary Latina probably dates from the time of Charlemagne and was later reconstructed by merchants from Amalfi

(some time before 1080).⁴⁴ Around the mid twelfth century, the Crusaders established a new triapsidal basilica (40 × 23 meters) with a belfry in the southwest and the main entrance in the north, the nave and aisles each consisting of four groin-vaulted bays. The northern portal with its symbolic representations of the twelve months and the cloister to the south can still be seen today. The ruins of the entire architectural complex were still visible in the mid nineteenth century. Today, the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer is a copy of the original Crusader building.

St. Mary Major, dedicated in 1080 and rebuilt by the Crusaders, was very similar (35 × 21 meters), indeed almost identical to St. Mary Latina, in particular with respect to its architectural decoration (fig. 10.19).⁴⁵ It, too, had a large northern portal and a belfry in the southwest and probably also direct access to the hospital located next to its western wall. Unfortunately, following the discovery of the building's remains around 1900, no excavations were carried out. Its foundations were covered up and are now buried underneath the Greek Bazaar.



Fig. 10.19. Corinthian capital from the church of St. Mary Major. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

Fig. 10.20. Northern part of the cloister of St. Mary Magdalene, during excavation in the 1980s. Courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society.



ST. MARY MAGDALENE

This church was located near today's Herod's Gate.⁴⁶ In 1118, the former Coptic church (ninth century C.E.) was replaced by a building in Late Romanesque style, with a nave with two side aisles and an adjacent cloister. As early as 1138, the church was returned to the Coptic community. After A.H. 583/1187 C.E., the Christian community was expelled from the northern quarter of the city and their churches were converted to Muslim use. St. Mary Magdalene was rededicated as the Madrasa al-Mamuniya in A.H. 593/1197 C.E. By 1500, the building lay in ruins. In 1887, the remains were cleared to make way for a new school building. A small section of the cloister was excavated in the early 1980s (fig. 10.20).⁴⁷

THE CHURCH AT THE TOMB OF ST. MARY

The church at the Tomb of the Virgin Mary is situated at the bottom of the Kidron Valley (Jehoshaphat Valley), next to Gethsemane (fig. 10.21).⁴⁸ The origins of the church go back to the mid fifth



century. A description that includes a map by the pilgrim Arculf from around 680 provides documentation. The earlier church was destroyed, probably in the early ninth century.

It was supposedly Godfrey of Bouillon who, in 1099–1100, dedicated a monastery on the site of the tomb of St. Mary. Construction was only begun in 1112, however, under the abbot Hugh. The monastery became one of the most affluent ecclesiastical establishments, possessing vast estates in the Holy Land. It was also used as the private monastery of the Lower Lorraine kings.

The tomb chamber was decorated with typical twelfth-century sculptures and frescoes representing the Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin. The stairway to the south was enlarged to make room

Fig. 10.21. Entrance to the Tomb of the Virgin Mary near Gethsemane, ca. 1880–1900. Courtesy of the École biblique.

for a new Romanesque entrance façade. Lady Morphia in 1126–27 and Queen Melissende in 1160, both members of the Lower Lorraine royal family, were buried in the niches of this stairway. After Salah al-Din occupied the city in 1187, the abbey was destroyed, except for the tomb itself, and the stones were used for repairing the city walls. During modern construction work in 1935, the monastery underwent partial archaeological investigation.

An additional Crusader church dedicated to the Holy Savior was built in the nearby Garden of Gethsemane. This church survived only until the fourteenth century.⁴⁹

CHURCHES OF THE SECULAR ORDERS

The development of the churches of the secular orders was less homogenous. The first order of Crusaders was the Templars, founded in 1118–19 by Hugh of Payens and charged with protection of the pilgrimage routes. Upon arrival in the city, the order was housed in one of the wings of the Royal Palace (*Templum Salomonis*). After the royal residence transferred to the Citadel in 1120, the Templars occupied the entire complex. The *Jami al-Nisa* next to the *Aqsa Mosque* testifies to the Crusader building activities.⁵⁰

The Leper's Hospital antedates the Crusader period. Early plans from around 1130 indicate that the hospital was located northwest of the city. To date, no archaeological remains have been recovered.

The Hospitallers, too, existed prior to the Crusader period. The late Byzantine Church of St. John, south of the Holy Sepulchre, was built according to a small trefoil plan.⁵¹ The Crusader church was erected on top of the walls of the earlier building. It became the conventual church of the Order of the Hospitallers of St. John. The associated hospital was located east of the church.⁵² Another basilica, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, is located in *Tariq al-Wad*.⁵³ Both buildings are preserved to this day.

The Germans in Jerusalem owned at least two churches. St.

Mary Alemannorum (St. Mary of the Germans), located on the Street of the Germans, was a small triapsidal basilica built around 1143 C.E.⁵⁴ It was flanked on one side by a hospital and on the other by a hospice. The church of St. Thomas Alemannorum (St. Thomas of the Germans) was located north of the Armenian Cathedral of St. James. Both are partially preserved.⁵⁵

THE ARMENIAN CHURCHES

All Armenian churches in Jerusalem dating to the Crusader period are still preserved. The Armenian Cathedral of St. James was built in the mid twelfth century on a site in the Armenian Quarter of the city.⁵⁶ It has been identified as the place where the head of St. James the Elder was buried after he was beheaded by Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12:2). Other churches in the Armenian Quarter include St. James Intercisus (or St. James the Persian).⁵⁷ The small church of St. Toros (St. Theodore) is similar in plan to St. James Intercisus, being also a single-aisled church.⁵⁸

Royal Palaces

After the conquest of Jerusalem, and especially the occupation of the Haram al-Sharif by Tancred, Godfrey of Bouillon bought the entire Haram area for 700 pieces of silver and settled in the complex of the Aqsa Mosque, which was now called the Templum Salomonis.

When Baldwin I assumed power in 1104, he neglected the palace and allowed parts of the lead roof and stones to be reused in other buildings (as we are informed by Fulcher of Chartres)—such as in some of the capitals in the newly rebuilt Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

When the order of the Knights Templars was founded in 1118–19, Baldwin II allowed them to settle in the southern part of the Templum Salomonis, which was subsequently restored. The order expanded after 1128, when additional buildings were added around

the Templum Salomonis. The Jami al-Nisa is the only one that has survived. Al-Idrisi (1154), John of Würzburg (after 1160), and Theoderich (before 1170) have furnished us with detailed descriptions of the Templum Salomonis (fig. 10.22).

As of 1120, the kings resided in another part of the city before the new palace was built near the Citadel in 1170.⁵⁹ Maps from the Crusader period show the palace in two different locations. The Uppsala Map, for example, locates the “*aula regis*” (the Royal Palace) northeast of the Holy Sepulchre.⁶⁰ The Copenhagen Map locates the “*habitatio regis et prophetarum*” (the House of the King and the Prophets) at the intersection of two main streets.⁶¹ Since it is unlikely to have two palaces in such a short span of time, we can assume that one or both maps are wrong. Felix Fabri’s description of Jerusalem from 1483 places the king’s residence just west of the Holy Sepulchre. He writes in his *Evagatorium* (123b):

After this we came out of the courtyard and passed through a door on the left-hand side of it as you look towards the church into a garden planted with orange-trees and pomegranates, from which garden we went up into a great house with many rooms . . . it is a great and stately house, containing a very great number of vaulted chambers. It adjoins the western side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre . . . this house was once the dwelling of the Kings of Jerusalem, who dwelt there that they might always be near to the most holy sepulchre of our Lord.

The royal family moved their residence once more, this time to the western end of the city, next to the Tower of David (south of today’s Citadel). The construction of the palace was probably completed around 1160. Although John of Würzburg does not mention it, Theoderich later remarks (*Libellus* I, 4):

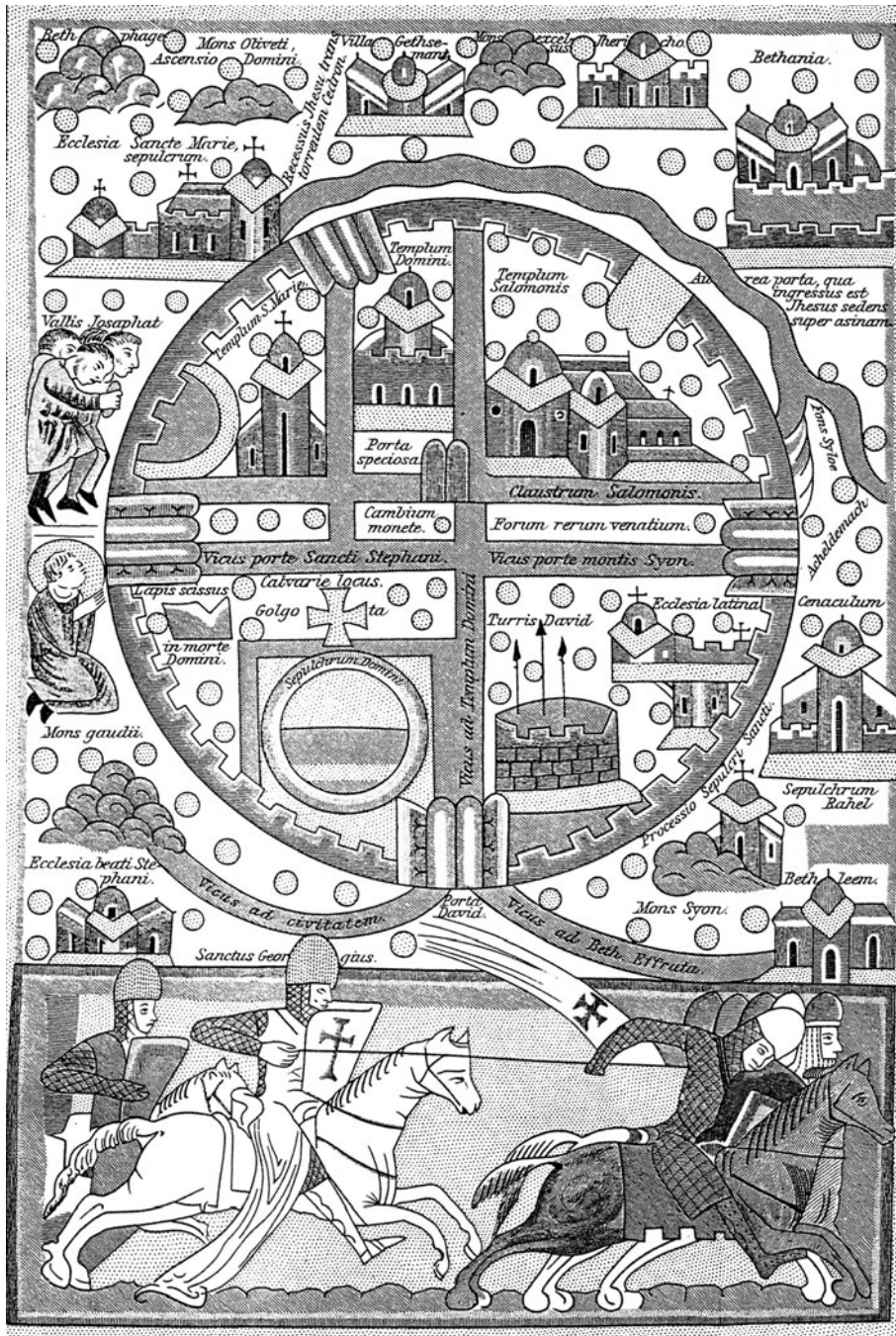


Fig. 10.22. Drawing of The Hague Map of Crusader Jerusalem. Röhricht, "Karten und Pläne" [1], plate 4.

The Tower of David is incomparably strong, made of squared blocks of enormous size. It is next to the south gate by which the road goes towards Bethlehem, and its site is next to the newly built dwelling and palace, which is heavily defended with ditches and barbicans, and is now the property of the King of Jerusalem.

The “*curia regis*” reproduced on the Cambrai Map should only be viewed as a symbolic representation of the palace (fig. 10.23). Archaeological remains, uncovered in today’s Armenian Garden and in the courtyard of the police station, are reduced to two groin-vaulted rooms and two barrel-vaulted halls revealing typical Crusader-style masonry.

Ayyubid Building Initiatives

The Ayyubids’ rule, initiated in A.H. 583/1187 C.E., was short-lived. Their goal to turn Jerusalem into a Muslim city was primarily visible on top of the Haram al-Sharif. During the fifteen years of Crusader rule (A.H. 625–40/1229–44 C.E.), Islamic building initiatives were interrupted, so that only about two dozen Ayyubid period buildings can be documented.⁶² Converted Crusader structures, re-used building segments and architectural details, and imitations of Crusader-style architecture make it difficult at times to separate the different phases of construction and use.

As early as A.H. 587/1191 C.E., Salah al-Din initiated the repair of the partially destroyed city wall. In the northwest, the wall was rebuilt to both sides of the Tancred Tower or Qasr Jallut. Additional repairs by Sultan al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Isa, carried out in the southern section of the wall, are documented by inscriptions that are dated to A.H. 599–609/1202–12 C.E. A new gate (Bab al-Niya), located at the end of the main street, was erected in conjunction with those repairs, replacing the not very long-lasting, earlier entrance (fig. 10.24).⁶³

When the new Muslim rulers took over the city, no buildings were

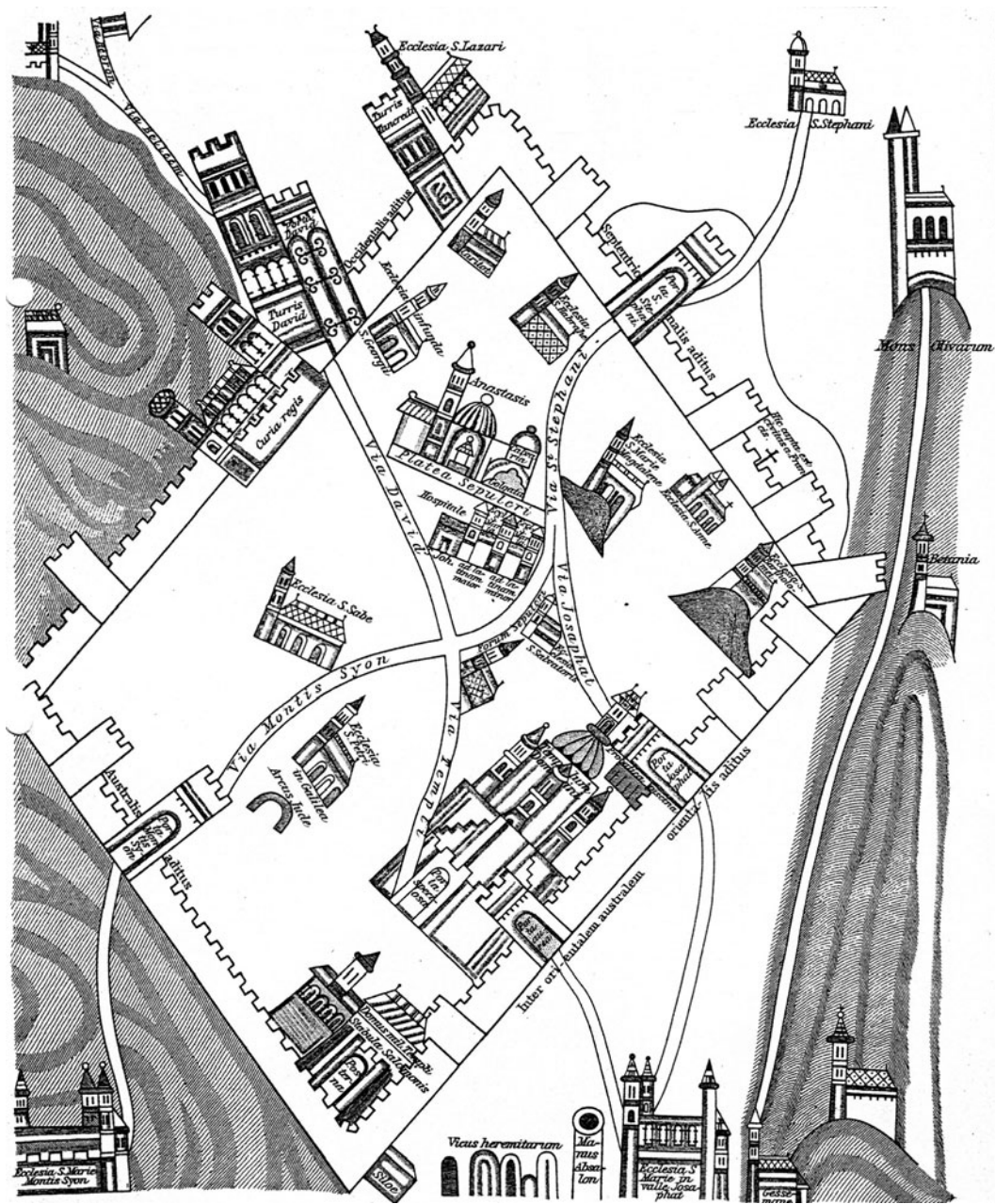


Fig. 10.23. Drawing of the Cambrai Map of Crusader Jerusalem. Röhricht, “Karten und Pläne” [2], plate 1.



Fig. 10.24. Ayyubid Bab al-Niya at the southern end of the main street. Photo H. Bloedhorn.

destroyed, except on the Haram al-Sharif. The Christian population was forced to leave the Haram al-Sharif, and all their buildings bordering the enclosure walls' northern and western sides—including churches—were Islamicized. Initially, all Christian building elements within and around the Dome of the Rock⁶⁴ and al-Aqsa Mosque⁶⁵ were eliminated so as to reclaim the monuments as Islamic. The structures of the Templars next to al-Aqsa were transformed into mosques (Jami al-Nisa and Jami al-Mughariba)⁶⁶ and various smaller buildings were erected around the Dome of the Rock, such as the Qubbat al-Miraj,⁶⁷ Qubbat Sulaiman,⁶⁸ and Qubbat Nahawiya.⁶⁹ The northern portico of the Haram al-Sharif was built during the Ayyubid period,⁷⁰ and the gates Bab al-Atm,⁷¹ Bab Hitta,⁷² Bab al-Silsila, and Bab al-Sakina were also rebuilt (fig. 10.25).⁷³

Within the city itself, the former Benedictine convent of St. Anne was immediately transformed into the Madrasa Salahiya.⁷⁴ The

Khanqah al-Salahiya was established as a gathering place for Sufis within various parts of the Latin patriarchate north of the Holy Sepulchre (A.H. 585/1189 C.E.).⁷⁵ The Jamil al-Afdal (A.H. 589/1193 C.E.) was consecrated within the northern part of the Johannite Hospice, south of the Holy Sepulchre.⁷⁶ Although the minarets of both buildings are located along the same axis as the dome of the Holy Sepulchre rotunda, they exceed it in height. Madrasa al-Mu‘azzamiya was endowed at the beginning of the thirteenth century, in A.H. 606/1209 C.E.⁷⁷ Madrasa al-Badriya followed in A.H. 610/1213–14 C.E.⁷⁸

Several cemeteries attest to the Ayyubid presence in the city. These include the cemeteries to the left and right of the Golden Gate, the Sahira cemetery north of Herod’s Gate, and the Mamilla cemetery in the upper part of the Hinnom Valley west of the Jaffa Gate. Among the more noteworthy burial monuments is the Qubbah al-Qaymuriyah, a funerary structure located some 1 km northwest of the Jaffa Gate. It was built by the al-Qaimari family around 1250 and mentioned by Mujir al-Din. The main body of the *qubbah* (domed mausoleum) is a cube with a shallow domed roof. The undecorated entrance is in the north wall; the south, east, and west outer walls are divided in the middle by projections with oblong window-openings. The drum has four broader window-openings. Inside, on the left, are the original bases of the five tombs. A slightly pointed arch is inscribed on the south, east, and west walls; in the angles between the arches are squinch-arches crowned by three concentric moldings. The springers of the arches on the walls extend to form small engaged columns. Between the top of the columns and the frieze are capitals with acanthus leaves or volutes. In the south wall is a small mihrab.⁷⁹



Fig. 10.25. Ayyubid Bab al-Sakina (left) and Bab al-Silsila (right) with Crusader spolia. Photo H. Bloedhorn.

Distinctive Finds

Crusader sculpture and monumental painting, with their unique synthesis of Byzantine, western European, and Levantine styles and iconography, have left numerous remains throughout the Holy Land.⁸⁰ Among examples of manuscript illumination originating in Crusader Jerusalem, a few of the works produced in the scriptorium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre have survived.⁸¹ Despite the eclectic nature of Crusader art and architecture, a local variation crystallized in Jerusalem. As for the Ayyubid city, most of it is no longer preserved, and in several cases little has remained beyond the epigraphic evidence.⁸²



Fig. 10.26. Fragment of a Crusader frieze from the Muristan, depicting an archer during a hunt with his dog beside him. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 10.27. A Crusader voussoir from the Muristan, showing a saint. Courtesy of the École biblique.

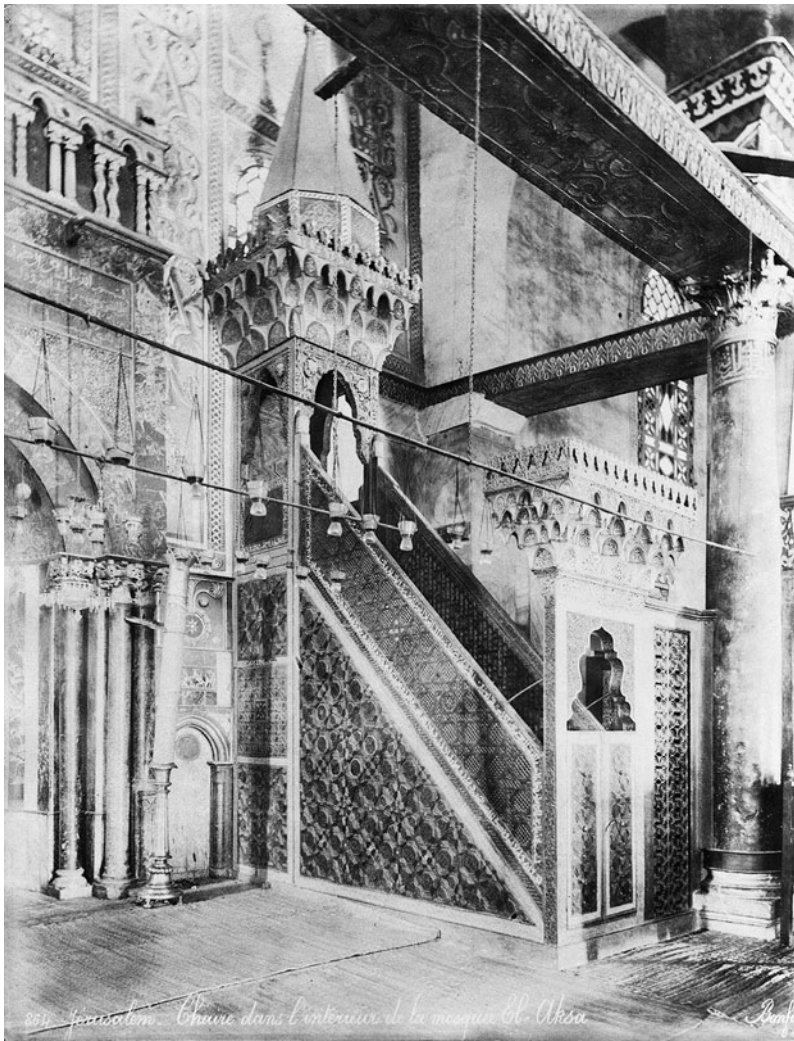


Fig. 10.28. Minbar of Nur al-Din in the Aqsa Mosque, ca. 1880–1900 (destroyed by arson in 1969). Courtesy of the École biblique.

ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE

Unlike Crusader architecture in Jerusalem, which was heavily influenced by the Romanesque style that flourished in southern France and southern Italy, the Crusader city's architectural and ornamental sculpture was based on a local vocabulary of style and technique. Most likely, a Jerusalem workshop produced the numerous examples still standing on and around the Haram al-Sharif, including panels,

lintels, abaci, and capitals that distinguish themselves by their schematization of decorative elements and their sparse use of figurative images (figs. 10.26–27).⁸³

MAPS

The form of representation from which we can perhaps learn the most is the map. Fourteen maps of Frankish Jerusalem are known today.⁸⁴ Eleven are round maps and the remaining three are quadrilateral. The most important of the latter is the twelfth-century Cambrai Map, featuring a realistic representation of the city's layout and some of its principal buildings (plate 14). The round maps of Jerusalem, such as the so-called The Hague Map (plate 15), are distinctive, signifying the high regard in which the city was held. Rather than being naive representations of the city containing little factual data, these maps are highly useful sources of information for the medieval city.

MINBAR OF NUR AL-DIN

An elaborate pulpit (minbar) was ordered by Nur al-Din (A.H. 564/1168–69 C.E.), intended to be placed in the Aqsa Mosque when he conquered Jerusalem (fig. 10.28). It was first used in the Great Mosque of Aleppo and was eventually brought to Jerusalem after the death of Nur al-Din, at Salah al-Din's request. The minbar remained in the Aqsa Mosque until it was destroyed by an Australian fanatic in 1969. The minbar of Nur al-Din played a key role in the Counter-Crusade in Jerusalem.⁸⁵

11 ♦ The Mamluk Period

[The Gate of the Cotton Merchants is] a large [Haram] gate that was just built and recently opened. There are ten steps down (inside). On each side there are platforms, and the length of each of them is seven and two-thirds pics. The construction of the gate is perfect: its height is eight pics and its width is five. Its arch is of double facing and made of stone which is sculpted and colored. Its inscription is gilt and incised into the stone. Its two portals are covered with plates of gilt and inscribed copper.

AL-'UMARI, MASALIK AL-ABSAR 161–62

A City between Cairo and Damascus

The Ayyubids, rulers of Egypt and Syria since A.H. 567/1171 C.E., were succeeded by the Mamluks (a name from Arabic meaning “slaves”) in A.H. 648/1250 C.E.¹ The Mamluks ruled for over two and a half

centuries, until the Ottoman conquest in A.H. 923/1517 C.E. The Bahri Mamluks, originally Qipchaqs from the Mongols' Golden Horde on the Volga, were based on the island of Rhoda in Cairo; the Burji Mamluks were Circassians by origin and were stationed in the Citadel of Cairo.

The Mamluks' defeat of the Mongol army in A.H. 658/1260 C.E. at 'Ain Jalut in the Jezreel Valley in northern Palestine was the decisive event in the history of Jerusalem in this period. This battle and the expulsion of the Mongols to lands beyond the Euphrates enabled the Mamluks to extend their sovereignty to Palestine, henceforth a part of Greater Syria. From this point on, a series of governors served in Jerusalem until the end of Mamluk rule.

Although Jerusalem retained its importance as a Muslim sacred place, it played a relatively minor political role in the larger regional context. Whether by choice or by compulsion, the city's governors usually joined the more widespread factional disputes and uprisings. Neither its diminished political status nor its location off the main routes prevented an impressive list of visitors from coming to Jerusalem throughout the duration of Mamluk rule.

For the first time since the reign of Salah al-Din, the city remained in the hands of Muslims without interruption. With the fall of Acre to al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalil in A.H. 690/1291 C.E., the Mamluks succeeded in expelling the Crusaders from the Holy Land. That Jerusalem was no longer a target of European aggression provided the inhabitants with a new kind of stability, and there was, therefore, no apparent reason to refortify the city with new walls (fig. 11.1). In comparison to Ayyubid rule, the Mamluk state as a whole was stronger, better controlled, and much more centralized, despite the internal rivalry and strife that manifested in numerous attempts by amirs stationed in the principal cities of Syria to assert their independence.

In the early years of Mamluk rule, according to al-Qalqashandi (d. A.H. 821/1418 C.E.), Jerusalem functioned as a governorate under the jurisdiction of the viceroy of Damascus. Later (after A.H. 800/1398

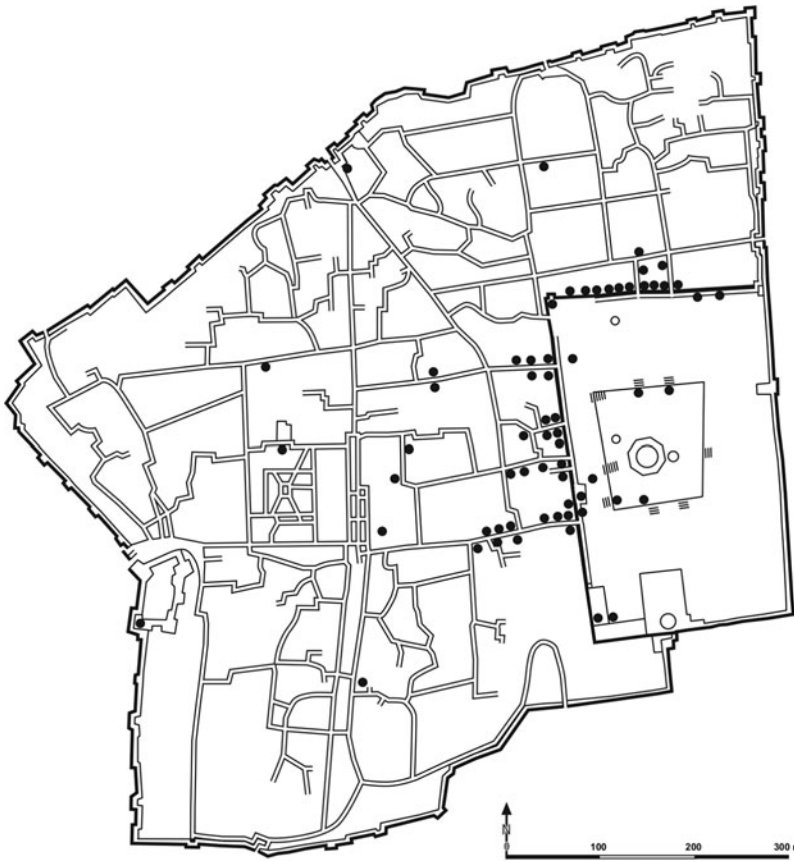


Fig. 11.1. Map showing concentration of Mamluk monuments around the Haram. Redrawn by M. Speidel, after: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 35, fig. 2.

c.E., when Egypt and Syria were not in conflict), Jerusalem officials were appointed by the sultan in Cairo. We know the names and dates of several key individuals (mostly amirs but also many judges²) recorded by historians of the Mamluk period.³ Often the rulers of Jerusalem were given the title of viceroy or, alternatively, supervisor of the “Two Sacred Harams” — Jerusalem and Hebron. During the reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (A.H. 693–741/ 1293–1341 C.E.), the two positions were filled by the same person, a practice often followed thereafter.

The reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay (A.H. 872–901/1468–1496 C.E.) is notable for the number of fine buildings he and his amirs

erected, although this era marked the onset of the close of the Mamluk Empire. The year A.H. 923/1517 C.E. marked the final demise of the state and its incorporation into the Ottoman Empire.

The Haram al-Sharif—The Noble Sanctuary

Epigraphic and literary documents indicate that from the earliest days of Islam the maintenance and embellishment of the Haram al-Sharif had been a royal preserve. Most Muslim rulers invested in repairing and decorating the complex as a whole and, more particularly, its two main monuments, the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque. The most impressive new construction undertaken on top of the esplanade during the Mamluk era can be attributed to the last decades before Ottoman rule. Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay reestablished the sultanate after a period of political tumult and economic decline. His reign was characterized by a great revival of the arts, in which architecture was characterized by elegance and harmony rather than size.

The main entrance to the Haram al-Sharif, the Bab al-Silsila, is one means of access to the Dome of the Rock platform from the west.⁴ One encounters wide stone steps crowned with a triple-arched arcade, the southwestern *qanatiir* (fig. 11.2).⁵ The still-visible steps and colonnade were built under Sultan Qaytbay in place of an earlier narrow-vaulted stairway.

The fountain (*sabil*) of Sultan Qaytbay is located on the western side of the Haram esplanade not far from Madrasa al-Ashrafiya, which was also sponsored by Qaytbay (fig. 11.3).⁶ Made entirely of stone, the fountain's elongated and graceful form is a result of several building components placed one on top of the other. The structure is supported by a raised prayer platform with a freestanding mihrab whose base consists of a simple room (4.60 × 4.80 meters and 7.65 meters high) illuminated by large grilled windows and a relatively small entrance. Various transitions are apparent in the structure—from the



Fig. 11.2. Southwest qanatir of the Dome of the Rock terrace, looking west. Photo R. Schick.

square base to the round, high drum that ultimately merges with the dome itself. The structure is crowned with a pointed dome decorated with arabesque stone carvings. This is the only notable dome of this kind that has survived outside Cairo. It is 13.28 meters high, with a base consisting primarily of *ablaq* construction of alternating red- and cream-colored stones. The inscriptions on the fountain's exterior refer to the three main stages of construction. An earlier structure was built by Sultan Inal (ca. A.H. 854/1450 C.E.), replaced in A.H. 887/1482 C.E. by the present construction of Sultan Qaytbay. This was later restored in A.H. 1300/1883 C.E. under the Ottoman sultan 'Abd al-Hamid. The latter restoration and subsequent transformations, however, have left the original design of Qaytbay relatively intact.

Religious Institutions

A substantial number of *ribats* (hospices for pilgrims), were built under Ayyubid rule and a few additional ones were established during the Mamluk period.⁷ The earliest Mamluk religious institution,



Fig. 11.3. Sabil Qaytbay, looking northeast. Courtesy of Michael Burgoyne (Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, color plate 30).

Ribat ‘Ala al-Din (A.H. 666/1267–68 C.E.), is located on the northern side of Tariq Bab al-Nazir.⁸ The use of the building as a hospice for pilgrims is one of the main factors that justified its proximity to the Haram al-Sharif.

Ribat al-Mansuri was built a few years later (A.H. 681/1282–83 C.E.) by Sultan al-Mansur Qala’un.⁹ Established for the use of pilgrims visiting the Holy City, it subsisted on income from rents from urban and agricultural properties in the region. The hospice is located on the southern side of Tariq Bab al-Nazir Street, which leads toward Bab al-Nazir on the western wall of the Haram. The entrance to the hospice is 30 meters from the gate. The building is composed of vaulted rooms of various sizes enclosing a rectangular courtyard aligned east–west with the street. The building’s arched portal leads into a vestibule giving access to the courtyard on the west and a large rectangular hall on the east.

The earliest Mamluk building abutting the Haram wall is Ribat al-Amir of Kurt al-Mansuri (A.H. 693/1293–94 C.E.), next to the Bab al-Hadid.¹⁰ Here, the rock surface is below the level of the Haram, which in some ways determined the choice of location for the construction as well as the narrowness of the building’s layout. Excavations conducted outside the southwestern corner of the Haram have shown that when Titus caused the walls of the Temple area to collapse in 70, the fallen masonry piled up at the base of the ruins until the Umayyad reconstruction of the Haram walls. By then, the accumulated debris next to Bab al-Hadid may have risen almost to the level of the Haram esplanade, and it was on this strip of raised surface that Ribat of Kurt al-Mansuri was built.

Nine ribats mentioned in Haram documents have left no physical trace, nor are they mentioned by Mujir al-Din (A.H. 860–928/1456–1522 C.E.).¹¹ The only one listed by him, Ribat al-Maridini (before A.H. 763/1361 C.E.), can be identified some 15 meters north of Ribat al-Awhadiya in Tariq Bab Hitta.¹² Other than the pointed-arched portal that incorporates the remains of an earlier building, its

architectural style is rather simple. The earlier ribats share a common ornate architectural style that would soon be replaced by more elaborate buildings with particularly ornate entrance portals.

The earliest madrasas in Jerusalem were also built by the Ayyubids. Not until more than a century after their introduction, however, were madrasas constructed immediately next to the Haram's boundaries, primarily on its north and west. Most of these edifices were the result of individual patronage; the spiritual significance of these building initiatives is expressed in the contemporary Fada'il and Muthir literature.

Khanqah al-Dawadariya (fig. 11.4) was erected against the northern border of the Haram, east of Tariq Bab al-Atm. A foundation inscription above the door identifies the Sufi *khanqah* and dates it to A.H. 694/late 1295 C.E. or to A.H. 696 / 1297 C.E., according to Mujir al-Din.¹³ Its founder, Amir Alam al-Din Sanjar al-Dawadari (b. A.H. 628/1230–31 C.E.), possessed enormous administrative powers in the Mamluk Syrian territories. The amir died in A.H. 700/1300 C.E. in a battle against the Mongols.

The Dawadariya is set within the urban fabric, sharing most of its northern and eastern walls with neighboring buildings; its southern wall is incorporated into the Haram portico. The rock surface right next to Bab al-Atm is almost at the same level as the Haram esplanade, while further east it slopes steeply downward. Prior to construction, the site was leveled by the erection of two long vaulted tunnels located west of a large water reservoir, Birkat Bani Isra'il. Given the structural relationship between the vaults and Bab Hitta, the latter must be from the Umayyad period, while the tunnels' date must be slightly earlier. Since the floor level of the khanqah is higher than the top part of the vaults, we can assume that a different structure occupied the site previously. This earlier structure may have been "the places of prayer" of the Sufis in Fatimid times, which, according to Nasir-i Khusraw, existed approximately in this location. This traditional association of the site was commemorated with the

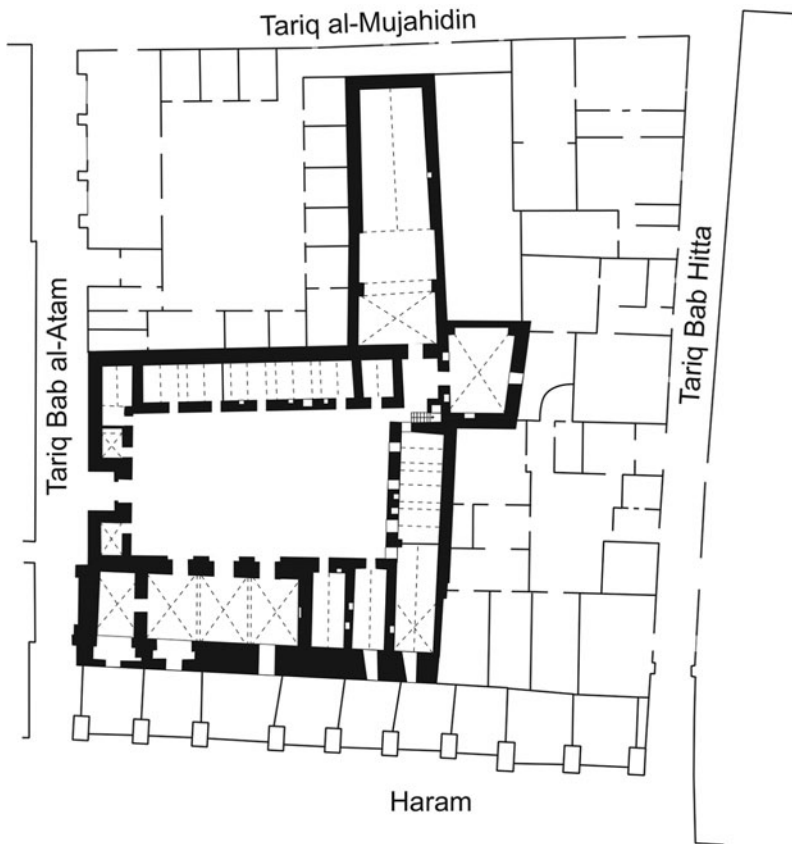


Fig. 11.4. Plan, Khanqah al-Dawadariya. Redrawn by M. Speidel, after: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 155, fig. 8.2.

establishment of the Khanqah al-Dawadariya for thirty Sufis and their followers.

The building's most striking feature is its ornate entrance portal, one of the main characteristics of Mamluk architecture. The doorway's recess is 3 meters wide and 2 meters deep, with stone benches flanking the entryway. It is crowned with twin vaults resting on three tiers of *muqarnas* (stalactite squinches) and on twin trefoil arches built into the portal arch (fig. 11.5). The entrance is made of red and white ablaq masonry topped with a pointed arch. The design was clearly influenced by a series of contemporary portals built in Damascus, and may even prove to have been made by the Damascene craftsman 'Ali ibn Salama.

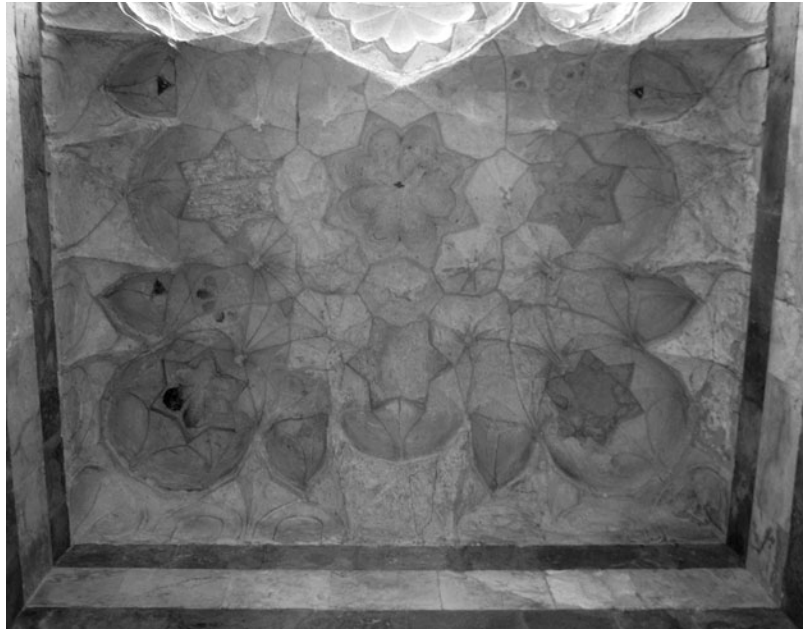
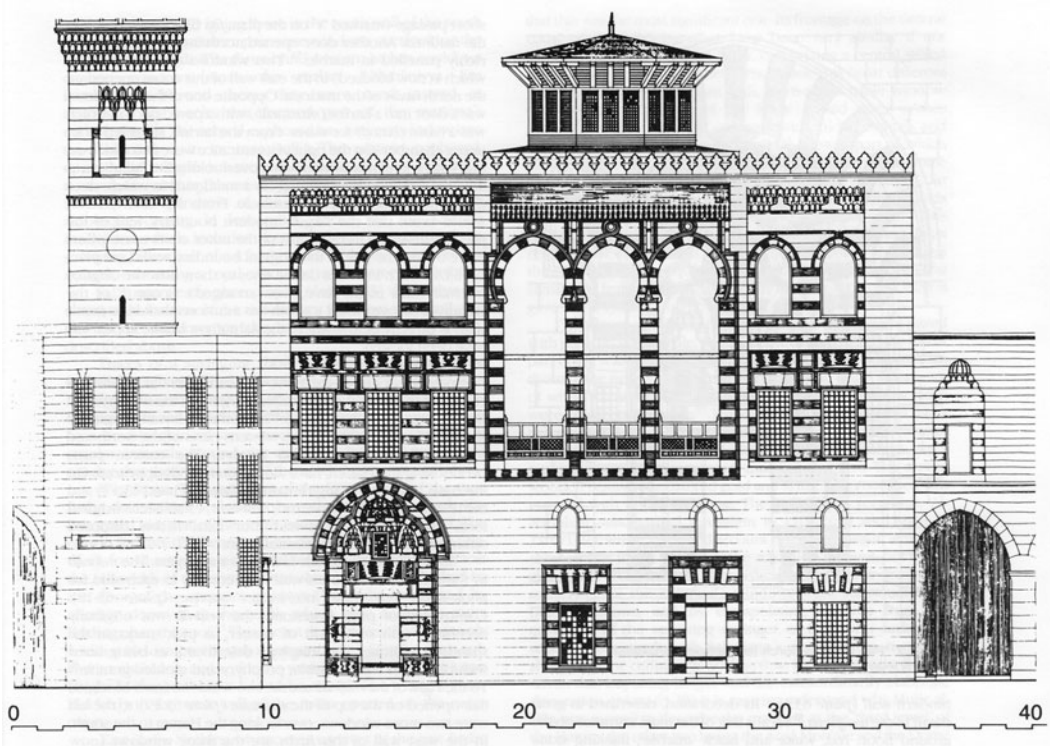


Fig. 11.5. Vault of entrance portal from below, Khanqah al-Dawadariya. Photo R. Schick.

Inside, the Dawadariya is constructed around a large rectangular courtyard with vaulted cells to its north, east, and west; an upper story of halls was added at a later date. The lower cells can be accessed through doorways with pointed arches. A large classroom crowned by three cross-vaulted halls of equal size dominates the southern end of the courtyard. A small vestibule in the northeastern corner encloses the stairs leading up to the roof and also provides access to annexes located to its east and north. The smaller eastern annex has an irregular plan and is capped by a cross-vault. The northern annex, which extends along the adjacent Madrasa al-Sallamiya, consists of a long barrel-vaulted hall preceded by a courtyard. The classroom is the main area on the first level; its courtyard's façade has symmetrical arched niches for its door and two windows, which are framed with *ablaq* masonry. The central niche for the doorway is decorated with a tympanum enclosing a disc. Inside, the hall is subdivided into three vaulted bays with two transverse arches. The building currently houses Madrasa al-Bakriya. Numerous additional madrasas were built



during the course of Mamluk rule, including such noteworthy examples as Madrasa al-Jawiliya, al-Tankiziya, al-Sallamiya, al-Manjakiya, al-Baladiya, al-Subaybiya, al-Ghadiriya, and al-Hasaniya.¹⁴

Madrasa al-Ashrafiya (A.H. 887/1480–81 C.E.), located north of the main Haram gate Bab al-Silsila, rests partly on the roof of the Baladiya and partly on an assembly hall that incorporates three arched openings of the Haram portico.¹⁵ The Ashrafiya was built in typical Egyptian style, by a team headed by a Coptic architect commissioned by the sultan from Egypt. The builders made use of expensive materials, such as timber for roofs and windows and marble slabs for floors and walls.

The entrance, which can be accessed directly from the Haram, is clearly one of the most harmonious Mamluk architectural features in Jerusalem (fig. 11.6). It incorporates all the typical elements in as-

Fig. 11.6. Restored east elevation, al-Ashrafiya. Drawing by A. Walls (Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 599, fig. 63.6).

tonishing equilibrium — the recessed portal, stone benches on either side of the entrance, ablaq, muqarnas, inscriptions, geometric patterns, a three-lobed arch, voussoirs with ornamental carvings, and polychrome ceramic incrustations.

Although the Ashrafiya was partially destroyed during earthquakes it can still be reconstructed as the height of Mamluk architectural achievements on the Haram. It was the only madrasa to be built on the border of the Haram expressly for a sultan and was clearly the most ornate of all. In the words of Mujir al-Din (*Histoire de Jérusalem*, 387–88), the circumstances of its construction were as follows:

The amir Hassan al-Zahari built the earlier al-Malik al-Zahri Khushqaddam Madrasa. When this prince died, he asked al-Malik al-Ashraf Qaytbay to receive it. The governor accepted it and gave his name to the madrasa, and appointed a supervisor, Sufi devotees, and lawyers, paying them salaries. Some time after this, in 880 [1475 C.E.], al-Malik al-Ashraf Qayt Bay came to Jerusalem, and did not like the building. Likewise, in 884 [1479 C.E.] he sent one of his servants with an order to destroy the structure and expand it, and add more buildings to it. They began to dig the excavations of the present madrasa building on Shawan 14, 885 [October 19, 1480 C.E.]. The architects began work, and actual construction began in 887 [1482 C.E.]. They covered the roof with lead plates, similar to al-Aqsa Mosque. In any event, the most impressive thing about this building is its location in the Noble Sanctuary. The madrasa is the third jewel there: the first is the Dome of the Rock, the second is al-Aqsa Mosque, and the third is this madrasa.

Only royalty was entitled to build on top of the Haram esplanade; the structure of the Zawiyā al-Fakhriya built by the judge Fakhr al-Din al-Muhammad on the southwestern extremity was an excep-

tion.¹⁶ This was probably justified by its being hidden behind the enormous Crusader and Ayyubid halls used during the Mamluk period as the Women's Mosque and the Maghribi Mosque. Given their size and proximity to the Haram walls, it may be assumed that the converted halls were considered to be at the Haram border at the time. This exception would therefore not have been viewed as going against the established convention.

Mosques, Mihrabs, and Minarets

Besides the Aqsa Mosque, only two other mosques were built in Jerusalem during the Mamluk period.¹⁷ One was located within the Citadel next to Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil), at the western end of the city. Traces of reconstruction by the Crusaders and partial dismantling by the Ayyubids are visible, as are repairs made in the Citadel during the reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad when the mosque (or *jami*, a congregational mosque for Friday prayer) was added, primarily to enable the garrison to attend weekly prayers without having to leave the fortified area.¹⁸ The other mosque is the Masjid al-Mansuri (*masjid*, *place of worship*). Both mosques are simple vaulted halls with a mihrab in the *qibla* wall that marks the direction of Mecca.

Mihrabs and minarets are clear indicators of Islamic architecture. Mihrabs, usually in the shape of semicircular arched niches, can be found in some of the foundations in Jerusalem. Among the twelve surviving madrasas and khanqahs located adjacent to the northern border of the Haram, only one, the Is'ardiya, has a mihrab. In contrast, all the madrasas and khanqahs near the western border have mihrabs. Given the presence of the archetype *qibla* of the Aqsa Mosque, institutions located adjacent to the northern border of the Haram required no further indication of the direction of Mecca.

Among the most famous minarets in Jerusalem from the Mamluk period are those that served the Aqsa Mosque. Their function in general was not only to indicate the location of houses of worship,

but also to make a statement of supremacy over the non-Muslim populations in the city.

Most minarets in Jerusalem are square stone towers of the Syrian type. One of them, located on the northwestern corner of the Haram, is the Minaret al-Ghawanima (fig. 11.7).¹⁹ Built almost completely of stone (A.H. 697/1298 C.E.), apart from a wooden canopy over the muezzin's gallery, it represents one of the sturdiest and highest constructions in the Old City of Jerusalem. Its solid structure has survived several earthquakes. The tower's robust edifice is countered by a certain elegance in its decoration. The minaret is dug into the natural bedrock and is partitioned into several levels by stone molding and muqarnas galleries. The first two lower levels are wider and directly touch the bedrock, forming the tower's substructure. Four additional levels, including the muezzin's gallery, are topped by a circular drum and bulbous dome. The stairway is visible from the outside up to the first two levels, but continues then inside until it reaches the muezzin's gallery.

Only one year after the Minaret al-Ghawanima was built, the so-called Bab al-Silsila Minaret was erected on the western border of the Haram, adjacent to the main entrance to the esplanade.²⁰ Toward the early sixteenth century, Mujir al-Din wrote that the Bab al-Silsila Minaret was to be reserved for the best muezzins in Jerusalem.²¹ From this tower came the first call to prayer, and only afterwards would the voices of muezzins from other minarets be heard. Built entirely out of stone according to the traditional Syrian square tower model, this minaret probably replaced an earlier Umayyad one. The inscriptions indicate that this restoration was carried out in the days of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, apparently by Amir Tankiz, the Mamluk governor of Syria, at the same time he built Madrasa al-Tankiziya.

The intensity of construction next to the Haram borders diminished visibly over the following years. The next two decades record only one building project — the cylindrical minaret near Bab al-Asbat, erected in A.H. 769/1367-68 C.E. (fig. 11.8).²² The present slender



Fig. 11.7. East façade, al-Manjakiya, and the Bab al-Ghawanima Minaret. Courtesy of A. Duncan and Al Tajir Trust (Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, color plate 16).



Fig. 11.8. From left to right, looking south-west: Bab al-Asbat Minaret, al-Aqsa Mosque, Dome of the Chain, Dome of the Rock, dome of the Hurva synagogue (late Ottoman period). Courtesy of the École biblique.

tower, elegantly and beautifully proportioned, built against the westernmost portico of the esplanade's northern border, overlooks the Haram and the Bethesda Pool. The cylindrical stone shaft, probably of Ottoman date, sits on a rectangular Mamluk base that rests on top of a triangulated transition zone. The shaft narrows above the level of the muezzin's gallery and terminates with a bulbous dome. This upper section of the minaret was reconstructed after the 1927 earthquake, rendering a harmonious *mélange* of the various stages of construction.

Commercial and Domestic Construction

Most Mamluk commercial and domestic construction was linked to the establishment of religious institutions. The upkeep of Madrasa al-Tankiziya, for instance, was partially financed by income from the large commercial center known as Suq al-Qattanin (Market of the

Cotton Workers).²³ Reconstructed to replace an older building in A.H. 737/1336–37 C.E. by Tankiz, governor of Syria for Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad, it was defined as one of the finest bazaars in Greater Syria. The market street begins at the monumental gate Bab al-Qattanin on the western border of the Haram, extends westward into the city, and ends at Tariq al-Wad. The elongated vaulted space is dramatically lit by skylight openings. The street is bordered by lodgings, two bathhouses, shops, a small market, and a caravansary.

Bab al-Qattanin is the grandest of the Haram gates, built into the west portico of the esplanade (fig. 11.9). It lies beneath an impressive muqarnas vault. Its trefoil arch is set within a significantly larger recess, which is crowned by a semi-dome supported by marvelous muqarnas pendentives and surrounded by a slightly pointed arch of alternating red- and cream-colored ablaq construction.

Several of the main markets are monuments containing Crusader architectural elements in secondary use. Suq al-Qattanin appears to be built on top of the remains of a Crusader market (fig. 11.10). The Wakala, a warehouse founded by Sultan Barquq (A.H. 788/1386–87 C.E.) where state taxes were collected, incorporates sections of a Crusader market on the northern end of Tariq Bab al-Silsila.

Northwest of the Citadel, beyond the city walls, a caravansary known as Khan al-Zahir was established under Sultan Baybars in A.H. 662/1263 C.E. The Bab al-Id, which was transported from the palace of the Fatimid caliphs in Cairo to Jerusalem, served as the fortification's main entrance. Baybars provided an imam for the mosque and installed an oven and a mill within the caravansary. Near the gate, food was distributed to the poor and their shoes could be repaired. Other than an inscription, now in the Islamic Museum on the Haram, no additional traces of the caravansary can be identified.²⁴

Two impressive structures from the Mamluk period incorporating magnificent residences were built northwest of the Citadel, at some distance from the Haram but still providing a clear view of it. Clusters of domestic structures near the Haram's border frequently



Fig. 11.9. Bab al-Qattanin, looking west. Photo H. Bloedhorn.



Fig. 11.10. Suq al-Qattanin, looking east. Photo K. Bieberstein.

included a loggia for taking advantage of the view. With the limited availability of space for new building activity near the esplanade in the fourteenth century c.e., ingenious devices were contrived to give a sense of closeness to the Haram.

The Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq is located on the traditional Christian site of the Hospital of Queen Helena, mother of the Byzantine emperor Constantine.²⁵ It is the only surviving grand palace of Mamluk Jerusalem, approximating in scale and opulence the palaces built for high-ranking amirs in Cairo. The ground here rises some 10 meters above the Haram's esplanade, which can be accessed via three monumental portals opening onto a horse stable (fig. 11.11). The main living and reception rooms of the palace were located on the upper level. The most impressive part was a formal reception area with a magnificent view overlooking the Haram to the east. It was originally designed for the otherwise unknown Lady Tunshuq al-Muzaffariya. On the same street, opposite the palace lies her tomb, Turbat al-Sitt Tunshuq.²⁶ Her palace and tomb represent the last important



Fig. 11.11. Entrance portal, al-Tankiziya, 1905–1910. Courtesy of the École biblique.

Mamluk buildings to have been established away from the Haram's border.

Mausolea

The mausoleum (*turba*) was another noteworthy building type of the period. Built in the center of the city, half a dozen still stand today. Tomb chambers are incorporated in many of the religious buildings; in some cases they form independent entities. Although burial next to the Haram has been practiced since early Islamic times, no graves can be found within the Haram precinct proper. Shaddad ibn Aws was buried in the Golden Gate cemetery in the seventh century C.E., which to this day is the main Muslim cemetery of the city. No burials are attested until after the conquest by Salah al-Din. The growing significance of burial near the Haram in the thirteenth century C.E. can be associated with the dominant role of eschatological traditions

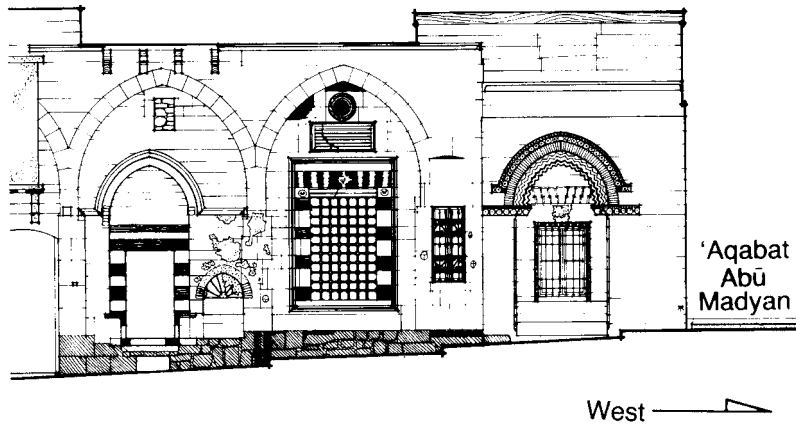


Fig. 11.12. Turba of Barka Khan, northern façade. Drawing by A. Walls (Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 113, fig. 2.4).

identifying Jerusalem as the place of the Last Judgment. Objections voiced by several religious leaders such as Ibn Taymiya against the erection of funerary structures were obviously ignored by many during the Mamluk period. The earliest funerary structure to be erected on Tariq Bab al-Silsila, the main street leading to the Haram, is Turbat Barka Khan, built in the mid thirteenth century c.e. (fig. 11.12).²⁷ The earliest to be erected immediately next to the Haram, Turbat al-Malik al-Awhad, dates to the end of the same century. From this time onward, eight additional tombs were built against the northern and western borders of the Haram, and six additional ones along Tariq Bab al-Silsila. The bodies of some amirs who died elsewhere were brought to Jerusalem for burial. Most of the funerary structures have domed chambers. The cenotaph (*tabut*), a rectangular stone or marble chest-like structure, slightly elevated on a low plinth, marks the location of the underground grave chamber and is the only distinguishing piece of furniture in the chamber. Additional notable examples include the Turbat al-Awhadiya and the dome tomb of Tashtamur al-‘Ala’ I.²⁸

Distinctive Finds

The minor arts from Mamluk Jerusalem, like the architectural corpus, illustrate the impact of artistic trends of contemporary Cairo and Damascus. Other than wall mosaics and glasswork, this era is noteworthy for its beautiful manuscripts, elegant calligraphy, masterful metalwork, and numerous ceramic types.²⁹

WALL MOSAICS

Mosaics of colored and gilded glass, colored paste, turquoise faience, and mother-of-pearl, as well as colored stone and marble, embellish some of the above-mentioned Mamluk buildings. The most impressive wall mosaic is located in Madrasa al-Tankiziya.³⁰ Its mihrab is covered with narrow strips of polychrome marble, flanked by reused Crusader columns with capitals, clearly analogous to certain features of Umayyad wall mosaics in the Dome of the Rock, in particular with its mother-of-pearl inlay (plate 16). It appears that this late-emerging art drew its inspiration from the seventh-century mosaics in the Dome of the Rock. Historical sources indicate that restorations of the wall mosaics were carried out during the Mamluk period in both the Dome of the Rock and the Dome of the Chain. Although Syria and Egypt have similar types of wall mosaics, Jerusalem appears to have been the home of a genuine Palestinian school that lasted for centuries.

MANUSCRIPTS

Mostly from the late fourteenth century, the so-called “Haram documents,” were discovered during the course of repairs and reorganization of the Islamic Museum and its holdings in the 1970s. The texts, written primarily in Arabic, some in Persian, provide much information on the history of Palestine and Jerusalem in particular under Mamluk rule.³¹ Some of them were written on parchment, and

others on paper. In addition to the qur'anic manuscripts the documents include legal decrees, petitions, property and land registrations, marriage contracts, title deeds, wills, and so on. The art of Qur'an illumination consists of calligraphy, plant and geometric designs, and coloring. Most of the Mamluk period manuscripts are written in *thuluth* or *mubaqqaq* and are decorated with geometrical or floral motifs, including arabesques, fan palmettes, and lotus flowers. The predominant colors during this period are blue and gold.³² The tradition of bookbinding was already well established at the beginning of the Mamluk period. Most Qur'an manuscripts featured a central oval medallion with scalloped edges on the front and back covers, with delicate floral and geometric patterns, along with additional partial medallions in the corners.³³ A double page of a fourteenth-century document (Rab'ah of Ibn Qurman) presents the Surat al-Fatiha (the first chapter of the Qur'an) written in thuluth script. The text is bordered on the top and bottom by golden panels, reading *Fatihah al-kitab* (the Opener) and seven verses in the upper panel and "Only the pure may touch it" and "Praise to god, Lord of the Two Worlds" on the bottom (plate 17).³⁴

12 ♦ The Ottoman Period

When he [Sultan Suleiman] became an independent king the Prophet appeared to him in a blessed night and told him, “. . . You should spend these spoils on embellishing Mecca and Medina, and for the fortification of the citadel of Jerusalem, in order to repulse the unbelievers, when they attempt to take possession of Jerusalem during the reigns of your followers. You should also embellish its Sanctuary with a water-basin . . . and also embellish the Rock of Allah and rebuild Jerusalem.”

EVLIYA ÇELEBI, *Seyahat-namé*, fol. 91

City of Pilgrimage

In A.H. 857/1453 C.E., the Ottoman ruler Mehmed the Conqueror took over Constantinople and the last territories of Byzantium. Additional regions to the south and east, including the Levant

and Egypt, were subsequently conquered by his successors. To the Ottomans, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Arabia were provinces of a much larger empire whose center of gravity lay in Anatolia and the Balkans. These provinces were a source of revenue, manpower, and raw materials, yet in all other respects played a secondary role. They were governed by appointees from Istanbul, where the metropolitan court and administration spoke Turkish and adopted Persian culture. Although Palestine continued to be ruled by Muslims holding a deep respect for Arab culture, their first loyalty was to the Turkish sultan in Istanbul.¹ The new rulers' building initiatives in Jerusalem clearly reflect this significant change.

In the generation after the Ottoman conquest of Jerusalem in A.H. 922/1516 C.E., the city sank to the status of a minor provincial town.² Most of the important Ottoman contributions to Jerusalem's architectural heritage can be linked directly to the rule of Suleiman the Magnificent between A.H. 926 and 974/1520 and 1566 C.E. The flourishing economy that had characterized most of Mamluk rule in the city gave way to stagnation and decline. Jerusalem turned inwards, resting on past glories while its current interests were maintained by a few leading local Arab families, who dominated the religious and administrative affairs of the waqfs or endowments of its many pious institutions.

In spite of dramatic political changes under the Ottomans, Jerusalem continued to attract large numbers of pilgrims. In the sixteenth century, Nasir al-Din Rumi described the itinerary of the Muslim pilgrims visiting the holy places in Jerusalem. One of the most famous guides to the holy places of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, known as the *Dala'il al-Khairat*, was compiled by the Berber mystic al-Jazuli (d. A.H. 869/1465 C.E.). In addition to prayers for the Prophet and other spiritually meaningful texts, his illustrated itineraries, which include detailed views of the three holy cities and a list of religious sites to be visited by pilgrims, became very popular in Ottoman times and were circulated widely. Perhaps not surprisingly, the itinerary for Muslim

Jerusalem was similar in many ways to the Via Dolorosa followed by Christian pilgrims.

Fortifications

The most important building projects by Suleiman the Magnificent in Jerusalem include the city's fortifications — the rebuilding of the walls and repair of the Citadel. The city wall was meant to protect Jerusalem's inhabitants, but it was also meant to keep the Holy City apart.

CITY WALLS

Among the first tasks undertaken by Suleiman was the reconstruction of the conquered city's wall (plate 2).³ Completed in four years (A.H. 944–47/1537–40 C.E.), the goal of its construction was to supply the Holy City with a modern defensive system to partially replace and reinforce the medieval enclosure, and to enlarge it to the size of the rectangular area we see today (fig. 2.3). The wall enclosure took the shape of an irregular quadrilateral and included thirty-five square towers and several crenellated gates whose openings were mostly Roman — and even earlier. Some sixteen inscriptions over the main gates record the dates of the wall's reconstruction and feature hymns that praise the sultan.⁴

The city walls were intended to defend Muslims and their holy shrines from the Christian enemy.⁵ Despite its inland position, Jerusalem was vulnerable to attacks from the sea, as much as any coastal town of Syria and Palestine — such as Tartous, Tripoli, Sidon, Acre, Jaffa, or Gaza. In addition to protecting Jerusalem's inhabitants from potential European invaders and Bedouin incursions, the wall was meant to visually emphasize the Ottomans' presence and political strength in the eyes of the locals and to symbolically mark Jerusalem's religious role of being the third holiest city in Islam, as well as to



physically separate the Holy City from the rest of the world.⁶ The Jerusalem city wall, one of the most complete of its kind from the sixteenth century to have survived intact, is unusual also because the Ottomans built very few fortifications and rarely invested in efforts comparable to those in Jerusalem.

The gates are among the wall's most impressive features. The largest and best known is the Damascus, or Nablus, Gate (Bab al-'Amud, or Gate of the Column), located to the north (fig. 12.1). Its façade is crowned with pinnacled battlements and decorated with floral and geometric reliefs.

A similar set-up exists at the Zion Gate (Bab Nabi Da'ud) on the south, the Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil) on the west, and the Lions' Gate (Bab al-Asbat or Bab al-Sitt Maryam) on the east (fig. 12.2). In terms of style, the gates indicate continuity as well as a certain revival of Crusader and Ayyubid elements in their conception, meant more as a façade to intimidate those approaching the town from outside than as a triumphal entrance.

Fig. 12.1. Damascus Gate, looking southwest. Photo B. St. Laurent.



Fig. 12.2. Lions' Gate, looking west, ca. 1880–1900. Courtesy of the École biblique.

THE CITADEL

The Citadel is one of the most significant landmarks in the city (fig. 12.3). Its location at the western entrance to the city, immediately south of the Jaffa Gate, was determined by the earlier fortifications as an area where defensive strength was greatly needed.⁷

The Citadel as we know it today is primarily the fourteenth-century Mamluk fortress, but it also incorporates several earlier ele-



ments and later Ottoman additions. The structure has an irregular rectangular plan located south and west of Herod's tower along the existing city wall. Three of its sides are almost straight, and the fourth, the south side, zigzags, most likely following the course of an earlier fortification. The Citadel's curtain walls connect four large towers at each of its four corners, and a fifth tower near the midpoint of its eastern side, enclosing a central courtyard. It furthermore includes two outworks, one on the eastern side and the other on the west. The entire structure is encircled by a moat.

The main access to the Citadel's interior is through its modern-day eastern entrance (fig. 12.4). A double flight of steps leads to an outer gateway that ultimately connects with the entrance itself. Above the vaulted portal, an inscription in Arabic marks the restoration of the citadel by the Ottoman sultan Suleiman in A.H. 938/1531–32 C.E. The wooden bridge that replaced the original drawbridge spans the

Fig. 12.3. Citadel, looking northeast. Photo H. Bloedhorn.



Fig. 12.4. Citadel, eastern entrance. Gröber, *Palästina*, plate 10.

outer moat and gives access to the barbican. From there one passes through the main entrance over another bridge, this one made of stone, spanning the inner moat.

One of the main functions of the Citadel was to garrison the military forces that guarded against internal unrest and outside threats. It also served as an armory for the manufacture of cannons. In addition to its military role, the Citadel served other secondary functions, including that of a prison. The complex also included luxurious residential quarters for the imam and the muezzin. A Friday mosque — the only one in Jerusalem apart from al-Aqsa Mosque — was also built on the grounds of the Citadel. As a result, soldiers did not have to leave their posts for Friday prayers.

The main difference between the Jerusalem Citadel and Ottoman citadels in other cities, such as Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo, was that the one in Jerusalem did not have an administrative and residential compound for the city's ruling elite. Apparently, the *saray* (palace) in the Jawiliya compound (the modern-day 'Umariya Madrasa, in the area in the northwestern corner of the Haram al-Sharif), fulfilled this function.

Among the most important changes in the Citadel under Ottoman rule is the addition of the so-called Summer Mosque, an open-air building surrounded by a low wall to the west and north and barbican battlements to the south and east. An inscription in Turkish above the lintel of the doorway dates the repair of the Summer Mosque by the *agha* (commander) of the Janissaries, the Khasaki ‘Ali Agha, to A.H. 1151/1738 C.E. (fig. 12.5).⁸

A remarkable testimony to Ottoman construction is the mosque’s minaret, consisting of a cylindrical stone shaft divided into three stories by molded stringcourses. A square stone-built base with rounded edges supports the cylindrical shaft. A door at the southern end leads to an interior spiral staircase that climbs to the gallery of the *muezzin* (caller to prayer).

An inscription on the base commemorates the restoration of the minaret by Muhammad Pasha during the reign of Sultan Muhammad IV in A.H. 1065/1655 C.E.⁹ Additional construction work that



Fig. 12.5. Citadel, inscription mentioning the repair of the Summer Mosque by Khasaki ‘Ali Agha. Courtesy of Al Tajir Trust (Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, I, plate 32, 13).

can be identified with the rule of Sultan Suleiman, based partially on the presence of inscriptions and partially on related building elements, are the moat, the glacis, and the western terrace.¹⁰

The Citadel was run-down by the end of the nineteenth century, as testified by travelers' accounts and contemporary photographs. The building officially ceased to be a military stronghold on December 11, 1917, when General Allenby proclaimed the British occupation of Jerusalem.

Water Installations

Immediately after addressing Jerusalem's security concerns, the Ottomans worked on the city's water supply system, to ensure the availability of water for the inhabitants' daily and religious needs.¹¹ Nevertheless, a severe drought in A.H. 1277/1860 C.E. left the channels dry and led to endemic disease that swept through Jerusalem.¹²

AQUEDUCTS

Construction and restoration of aqueducts and channels to convey water to Jerusalem had been revived in the 1530s. According to some literary accounts, this activity was necessary despite restoration work that had been carried out by Qaytbay in the late fifteenth century.¹³ Two earlier reservoirs at Solomon's Pools south of Bethlehem were supplemented by a third pool; all were named after their patron.¹⁴ Birkat al-Sultan (named after the Mamluk sultan Barquq), located immediately beyond the city walls, southwest of Bab al-Khalil, was repaired and a small fountain with two troughs to provide water for animals was built.¹⁵ New and older channels directed water from this pool toward the city. Joseph ha-Cohen, a Jewish resident of Jerusalem in A.H. 944/1537 C.E., stated that "they also extended the tunnel into the town lest the people thirst for water."¹⁶ Five additional fountains, all of a very similar design and fed by the newly restored channels, were erected in the name of the sultan, near the Haram. Work on the water channels most likely continued throughout the 1540s and 1550s.



Fig. 12.6. Sabil in Tariq al-Wad with Herodian sarcophagus, simple style. Photo H. Bloedhorn.



Fig. 12.7. Sabil Bab al-Nazir with Crusader spoils, elaborate style, 1908. Courtesy of the École biblique.

FOUNTAINS

Thirteen fountains (*sabil*) from the Ottoman period have been preserved in Jerusalem. Of the nine attributed to Sultan Suleiman, six are still standing. Their concentration on the Haram platform indicates unequivocally that they not only fulfilled a secular purpose, but also a religious one. Water ablutions are required to precede each of the five daily prayers that Muslims perform. The majority of the fountains (eight) date to the sixteenth century C.E., while the remaining five were built over the following three centuries. Structurally, we can distinguish between a simple and a more elaborate style (figs. 12.6–7). The simple style, with a recessed niche surmounted by a pointed arch enclosed within a rectangular stone panel, is represented by six examples, all constructed by Sultan Suleiman. Most of

the panels appear to be attached to a wall, and therefore this type is sometimes referred to as the “walled niche sabil,” or *çeşme*.¹⁷

Other than those of Qasim Pasha, a windowless eight-sided structure with a marble panel niche in each face, all the fountains were of the more elaborate type, having four sides surmounted by a small, shallow dome. This style has been referred to as “the four-sided sabil,” the design of which facilitated the distribution of water to passersby coming from various directions.¹⁸

Water for the fountains came from either a branch of the Qanat al-Sabil tunnel or rainwater collected in the Haram cisterns. Some of the sabil were built directly over one of these cisterns, such as Sabil Bab al-Maghariba and Sabil Sha’lan; others were assigned a certain sum of money by a donor to buy water, especially in the summer, when water had to be transported.

HAMMAMS

For most of the Ottoman period, six public bathhouses were in use in the city: Hammam al-‘Ain, Hammam al-Shifa’, Hammam al-Batrak, Hammam al-Sultan, Hammam al-Sayida Maryam, and Hammam al-Jamal.¹⁹ Whereas Hammam al-‘Ain and Hammam al-Shifa’ in Suq al-Qattanin were originally built in the Mamluk period, at least two of the others were built or renovated next to or in the same location as one of the earlier bathhouses (fig. 12.8).²⁰ The names of these hammams changed rather frequently.

The Jerusalem hammams belonged to a charitable endowment, at least during the early Ottoman period. During the nineteenth century, however, there was a tendency for ownership to be transferred to a family endowment.²¹

The main room in the hammam was always the dressing room, equipped with a stone basin and a fountain in its center (fig. 12.9). This feature at Hammam al-Batrak had a typical octagonal shape and a circular pool on top.²² Stone benches along the walls of the dressing

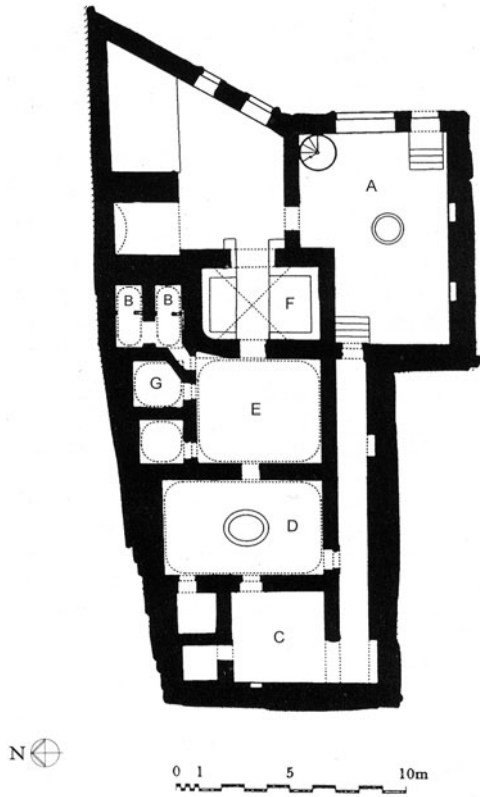


Fig. 12.8. Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam, plan. Courtesy of Al Tajir Trust (Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, I, 522, fig. 33.1).



Fig. 12.9. Hammam al-Sayyida Maryam, summer dressing room. Courtesy of Al Tajir Trust (Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, I, 524, plate 33.5).

room were covered with soft furnishings, such as cushions.²³ Sometimes a second, usually smaller and sometimes heated dressing room existed in the mountainous regions of Palestine and was used for changing during the cold winters. Earlier hammams usually had both warm and hot rooms. In later bathhouses, however, the warm washing room was not a standard feature. The exact arrangement in the Ottoman period is not known. The hot room was clearly the main washing room, surrounded by several small chambers that branched off of it. The furnace was located behind the hot room, and a duct carrying the steam passed beneath the floor of the heated rooms and was expelled from a chimney on the far side of the heated dressing room. Brass or copper cauldrons were built above the furnace to heat the reservoir of water.

The significance of the hammam, in Jerusalem and in the rest of the Arab and Islamic world, is of a religious nature. Washing the body is an essential obligation for Muslims; head, hands, and feet have to be washed before prayer, and, as a result, places for ablutions are found near all major mosques. Furthermore, anyone in a state of “unseemliness” has to purify himself or herself.²⁴

In Jerusalem, as elsewhere in the Middle East, the hammam represented an important feature of civilized living in the city. It would have been inconceivable for Jerusalem not to have a number of functioning hammams. When Western influence had taken hold their number was reduced, so that by the end of the Ottoman period—the beginning of the twentieth century—only four hammams were still functioning.

The Haram al-Sharif—The Noble Sanctuary

The modifications on the Haram esplanade under Ottoman rule were both visually and politically significant and were undoubtedly intricately linked to each other. Most notable were the replacement of the exterior decoration of the Dome of the Rock and various privately endowed and initiated building programs.

THE DOME OF THE ROCK — QUBBAT AL-SAKHRA

Initial repair work in the Dome of the Rock was conducted in A.H. 935/1529 C.E., focusing only on the stained glass windows around the drum. A few years later, the existing Umayyad glass mosaics on the exterior of the drum and the octagonal ambulatory below it were replaced with tiles, and the lower parts of the octagon were revetted with marble (plate 18).²⁵ In A.H. 969/1561–62 C.E., Qubbat al-Silsila, east of the Dome of the Rock, was retiled.²⁶ Additional repairs were carried out, focusing on the lead work of both the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque. After completing the exterior of the Dome of the Rock, the doors were repaired (A.H. 972/1564–65 C.E.), and soon after that, two windows were reopened (A.H. 1006/1597–98 C.E.).²⁷

SMALL CELLS

The largest concentration of new buildings was located against the western and northern sides of the upper esplanade in the form of fourteen small, two-storied cells (*khalwa*), only some of which have foundation inscriptions.²⁸ The practice of building structures against the side of the upper platform of the Haram al-Sharif began as early as the Ayyubid period. Frederick Catherwood, who visited the city in 1833, writes that there were “apartments . . . appropriated to the poorer classes of Mahomedan pilgrims, who are lodged and fed gratuitously from the funds of the mosque.”²⁹ In other words, even in the latter years of the Ottoman Empire, these cells still provided for those who made pilgrimage to the city.

A Charitable Institution

The Takiyat Khassaki Sultan in Jerusalem was the largest charitable institution in Palestine at the time (fig. 12.10).³⁰ The endowment for its construction was made possible by the founder’s intimate relationship with the sultan.³¹ The large size of the complex and the resources it would have required for its daily maintenance are

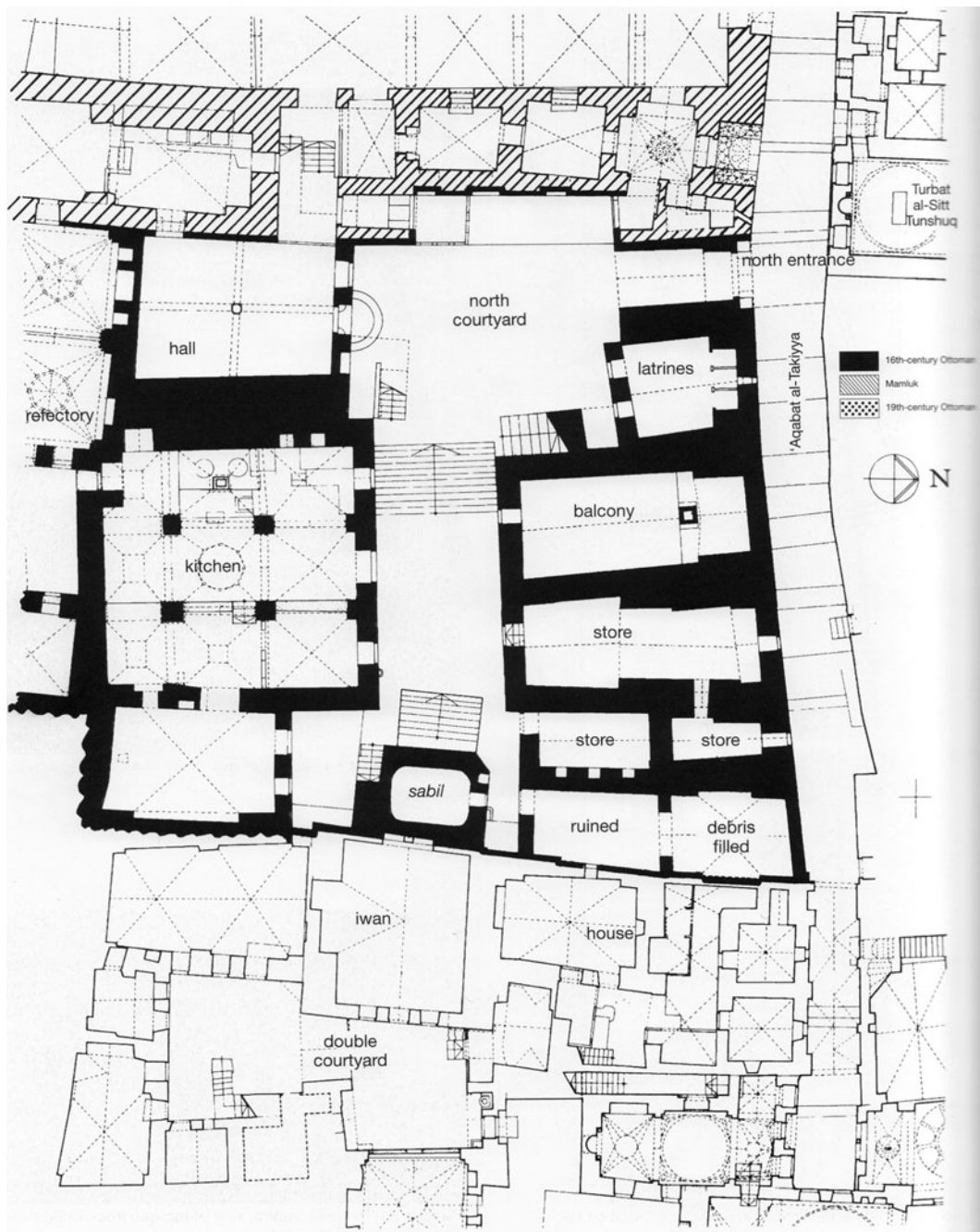


Fig. 12.10. Khassaki Sultan complex, plan. Courtesy of Al Tajir Trust (Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, I, 572, fig. 35.1).

impressive. One imperial document states that the complex consumed half of the city's total water supply.³² It appears that in order to meet the requirements of the complex and the city, an additional water channel had to be built; Khassaki Sultan Hürrem covered the cost herself.

The complex was built partially in and around the large Mamluk Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq.³³ The main components of this “Flourishing Edifice” (*Imara al-‘Amira*) were a *khan* (inn), accommodations for a Sufi community, a refectory, a mosque, a bakery, probably a bathhouse, a soup kitchen that distributed two free meals daily to the poor and to the Sufi residents, and a charitable foundation composed of a public water fountain and an elementary school for learning the Qur’an (*sabil kuttab*).

Religious Architecture

The Ottomans initiated the construction of numerous mosques in Jerusalem, including Masjid al-Qaimari, Masjid al-Hamra’ (ca. A.H. 939/1532–33 C.E.), Masjid al-‘Imara al-‘Amira al-Khassaki Sultan, and Masjid al-Zawiya al-Qadiriya (A.H. 1043/1633 C.E.). The religious focus was obviously the omnipresence of the Haram al-Sharif, which housed the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock.

In addition to mosques, Ottoman Jerusalem saw the construction of several minarets. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, five new minarets were built, including the minaret of al-Nabi Da’ud (A.H. 930/1524 C.E.), the minaret of al-Jami’ al-Maulawiya (before A.H. 995/1586–87 C.E.), and the minaret of the Citadel (A.H. 938/1532 C.E.). Shortly after the conversion of the Cenacle into a mosque, the minaret of al-Nabi Da’ud was erected. Two Mamluk minarets may have been restored or completely rebuilt — the minaret of Bab al-Asbat (A.H. 769/1369–70 C.E.)³⁴ and the minaret of al-Zawiya al-Fakhriya (A.H. 745/1345 C.E.).³⁵ Among the new minarets, those of al-Nabi Da’ud and the Citadel are both built on top of roofs.

Several noteworthy synagogues were established during Ottoman rule, including the Yohanan Ben Zakkai Synagogue (1606), the Prophet Elijah Synagogue (1625), the Beth El Synagogue (1737), Or ha-Chaim (1742), the Hurva Synagogue (1864), and Tiferet Yisrael (1872).³⁶

Since the mid-nineteenth century onward, European communities were granted permission to establish new churches in the city. These include Christ Church (1849), the Holy Trinity Church (1872), the Church of the Redeemer (1898), St. George's Cathedral (1898), St. Stephen (1900), and the Dormition Abbey (1910).³⁷

Cemeteries

A large number of mausoleum and tomb (*maqam*) structures were erected during the Ottoman period; most no longer exist today. We know the names of about fifty renowned personages who were buried within the city walls. Architecturally, these tombs are very diverse, ranging from separate mausolea to ordinary burial structures. Mausolea from the period are mostly crowned with domes. Their interiors contain places of prayer, often including mihrabs. Some tombs are merely simple rooms or open spaces, while others are composed of two or three buildings. The tomb proper is generally located in the center of the room, but sometimes it can be found in the courtyard or outside.

In addition to these intramural burial structures, three main cemeteries existed outside the city walls—the Bab al-Rahma cemetery, the Bab al-Sahira cemetery, and the Mamilla cemetery.³⁸

Distinctive Finds

Among the decorative arts, calligraphy maintained an important position. Manuscripts and dedicated albums were often illustrated with miniatures, an art form influenced by the Persian and Byzantine traditions. The Ottoman Empire was noted for the quality of its gold

and silver jewelry and other precious items. This period is also known for magnificent carpets and textiles. One could purchase a variety of luxury items in Jerusalem; however, the city is not associated with any significant locally produced objects.

TILES

Unlike the structural components of the Dome of the Rock that have kept their original Umayyad period composition, its exterior was significantly modified. When Sultan Suleiman came to rule in A.H. 926/1520 C.E., polychrome tiles replaced the original glass mosaics. The effect of this new colorful composition stands in contrast to the relative sobriety of Ottoman architecture and makes a clear statement about the new rulers, who were not only masters of the Haram but of the entire city. The tile industry was brought to Turkey from Persia, probably by craftsmen from Tabriz in northwestern Iran. The transition from the traditional Persian *cuerva seca* technique (outlines drawn on the surface of the tile to prevent the colored glazes from mingling) to underglaze decoration (applied before the tiles are glazed) occurred some time in the mid fifteenth century, although during the first half of the sixteenth century several imperial buildings were still decorated in the traditional technique. Both techniques were used simultaneously for tiles on the Dome of the Rock (plate 19).

COSTUMES

Other than travelers' accounts and early photographs, our knowledge about Ottoman clothing derives from garments that have been preserved dating from the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. Other than the many itinerants, the city's population, in addition to native residents, largely consisted of Turks representing the Ottoman government in Istanbul and Europeans who came to the region for the long or short term as missionaries, tourists, or bureaucrats. The ethnic, religious, and social com-

plexity of Jerusalem's population does not allow us to examine here all the different types of clothing worn in the city. Select examples of the typical local female and male dress provide us with only a partial glimpse of the various styles, fabrics, and colors.³⁹

Women in the central region of Palestine usually wore a white cotton, sometimes embroidered, undergarment. The garment worn over it was a long dress (*thub*) with a round neck opening. The sleeves were usually long and pointed. For additional fullness of the dress, the skirt sometimes had extra panels added down the sides. A wedding dress (*thub abu qutba*) from Jerusalem that dates to ca. 1850 includes pieces of green and red silk, with sleeves of gold silk (plate 20a). It is decorated with the characteristic central panel (*qabba*) and is only sparingly embroidered with scalloped silk in red, green, and yellow. Silk tassels hang from the neckline cord.

Men throughout the Arab world wore basically the same attire, consisting of a long cotton or wool tunic or shirt (*thub*) reaching the knees as well as baggy cotton trousers (*shirwal* or *libas*) reaching between the knee and ankle. They also wore a long coat of plain or striped fabric (*qumbaz*) that was wrapped and tied in the front. The color and type of the fabric indicated the religious or class identity of the wearer. A *qumbaz* from Jerusalem, dating ca. 1930, is made of white silk with red and yellow stripes. The neck opening is decorated with an ochre-colored silk braid (plate 20b).

Just as those garments have brought together the local and foreign cultures passing through and residing or settling in Jerusalem, the material culture of this place has always represented a complex fusion of local and external elements. In addition to creating a link between local and foreign currents, between eastern and western civilizations, the surviving material remains from the city and vicinity establish a concrete connection between Jerusalem's past and present.